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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

JUNE TWENTY-SEVENTH TO JUNE THIRTIETH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

VOLUME XXXIX

EDITED BY RABBI ISAAC E. MARCUSON

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Central Conference of
American Rabbis

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OFFICERS

1929-1930

HONORARY PRESIDENT
DAVID PHILIPSON

PRESIDENT
DAVID LEFKOWITZ

VICE-PRESIDENT
MORRIS NEWFIELD

TREASURER
FELIX A. LEVY

RECORDING SECRETARY
ISAAC E. MARCUSON

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
JAMES G. HELLER

EXECUTIVE BOARD

1928-1930

Alexander, David
Franklin, Leo M.
Freehof, Solomon B.
Friedman, Benjamin
Gup, Samuel M.
Mannheimer, Eugene

1929-1931

Calisch, Edward N.
Enelow, H. G.
Fox, G. George
Landman, Solomon
Mayerberg, Samuel S.
Rappaport, Julius

Conference Representatives on Boards of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Executive Board

Lefkowitz, David (1930-1931) Newfield, Morris (1930-1933)

Board of Governors, Hebrew Union College

Heller, James G. (1927-1930) Simon, Abram (1929-1932)
Marcuson, Isaac. E. (1929-1932) Wise, Jonah B. (1927-1930)
Rosenau, William (1927-1930)

Board of Managers, Synagog and School Extension

Berkowitz, Henry J. (1928-30) Mannheimer, Eugene (1930-1932)
Hirshberg, Abram (1929-31) Tarshish, Jacob (1928-1930)
Mark, Jerome (1930-1932)

Conference Representatives Upon Joint Commissions with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Commission on Religious Education

Abrams, S. T. (1929-1931) Koch, Samuel (1928-1930)
Enelow, Hyman G. (1928-1930) Levinger, Lee J. (1930-1932)
Fineberg, Solomon A. (1930-1932) Marx, David (1930-1932)
Rauch, Joseph (1930-1932)
Fram, Leon (1930) Schulman, Samuel (1930-1932)
Heller, James G. (1930-1932)

Commission on Tracts

Feuerlicht, Morris M. (1928-1930) Freehof, Solomon B. (1929-1931)
Hirshberg, Samuel (1930-1932)

Cooperation With Jewish Publication Society

Fineshriber, William H., *Chairman* Philipson, David
Nathan, Marvin Simon, Abram
Wolsey, Louis

WITH SYNAGOG COUNCIL OF AMERICA

FOSTER, SOLOMON
SCHULMAN SAMUEL
STERN, NATHAN

Alternates
LANDMAN, ISAAC
LUCHS, ALVIN S.
WISE, JONAH B.

STANDING COMMITTEES

Arbitration

Marx, David, *Chairman*
Bernstein, Philip
Cohen, Henry
Koch, Samuel
Levi, Harry
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mark, Julius
Philipson, David
Salzman, Marcus

Church and State

Calisch, Edward N., *Chairman*
Frisch, Ephraim, *Vice-Chairman*

Fink, Joseph
Foster, Solomon
Newman, Louis I.
Rauch, Joseph

Alabama—Mark, Jerome
Arkansas—Sanders, Ira E.
California—Magnin, Edgar F
Colorado—Friedman, Wm. S.
Connecticut—Feldman, Abraham
Delaware—
Dist. of Columbia—Simon, Abram
Florida—Kaplan, Jacob H.
Georgia—Solomon, George
Illinois—Snyder, Herman E.
Indiana—Skirball, Jack H.
Iowa—Lewis, Theodore
Kentucky—Bazell, Solomon
Louisiana—Brill, Abram
Maryland—Cohon, Beryl
Massachusetts—Abrams, Sam'l J.
Michigan—Waterman, Philip F.
Minnesota—Minda, Albert G.
Mississippi—Kory, Sol L.
Missouri—Thurman, Samuel
Nebraska—Cohn, Frederick
New Jersey—Silberfeld, Julius
New York—Bamberger, Bernard
N. Carolina—Jacobson, Moses P.
Ohio—Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Oklahoma—Iola, Hyman
Oregon—Berkowitz, Henry J.
Penna.—Bookstaber, Philip D.
Rhode Island—Abelson, Alter
S. Carolina—Raisin, Jacob S.
Tennessee—Shillman, Samuel
Texas—Barnston, Henry
Utah—Gordon, Samuel
Virginia—Calisch, Edward N.
Washington—Koch, Samuel
W. Virginia—Feinstein, Abraham
Wisconsin—Baron, Joseph
Canada
Ontario—Eisendrath, Maurice N.
Quebec—Stern, Harry J.

Contemporaneous History and Literature

Levy, Felix A., *Chairman*
Baron, Joseph
Freehof, Solomon B.
Glazer, B. B.
Heller, Bernard
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.
Levi, Gerson B.
Linfield, Harry S.
Marcus, Jacob R.
Mendelsohn, Samuel F.
Raisin, Max
Rhine, Abraham B.
Richmond, Harry R.
Schwartz, Samuel
Stern, Harry J.

Curators of Archives

Englander, Henry, *Chairman*
Blank, Sheldon
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.

Cooperation with International Organizations

Lefkowitz, David, *Chairman*
Calisch, Edward N.
Enelow, H. G.
Franklin, Leo M.
Philipson, David
Rosenau, William
Schulman, Samuel
Silverman, Joseph
Simon, Abram
Stolz, Joseph
Wolsey, Louis

Finance

Newfield, Morris, *Chairman*
Heller, James G.
Levy, Felix A.

International Peace

Currick, Max C., *Chairman*
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fink, Joseph L.
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Kory, Sol. L.
Macht, Wolfe
Peiser, Walter
Rosenbaum, David
Simon, Abram
Wise, Stephen S.
Zielonka, Martin

Investments

Levy, Felix A., *Chairman*
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Newfield, Morris

Liturgical Literature

Philipson, David, *Chairman*
Marcuson, Isaac E., *Secretary*
Bettan, Israel
Calisch, Edward N.
Cohon, Samuel S.
Cronbach, Abraham
Enelow, Hyman G.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Freehof, Solomon B.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Heller, James G.
Isserman, Ferdinand M.
Lazaron, Morris S.
Lefkowitz, David
Rosenau, William
Schulman, Samuel
Silver, Abba Hillel
Simon, Abram

Publications

Marcuson, Isaac E., *Chairman*
Kory, Sol. L.
Levy, Clifton Harby
Merfeld, Harry A.
Newfield, Morris
Stern, Nathan

Relief Fund

Stolz, Joseph, *Chairman*
Koch, Samuel
Levy, Felix A.
Newfield, Morris
Schanfarber, Tobias

Religious Education

Mann, Louis L., *Chairman*
Baron, Joseph
Bernstein, Philip S.
Binstock, Louis
Brickner, Barnet R.
Egelson, Louis I.
Feibelman, Julian
Feldman, Abraham J.
Fineberg, Solomon A.
Luchs, Alvin S.
Lyons, Alexander
Markowitz, Samuel H.
Merfeld, Harry A.
Reichert, Victor
Reichler, Max
Shulman, Charles
Singer, Jacob
Solomon, George
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Wolk, Samuel

Responsa

Lauterbach, Jacob Z., *Chairman*
Bettan, Israel
Faber, Morris
Friedman, Martin
Heller, Bernard
Raisin, Jacob S.
Rappaport, Julius
Sale, Samuel
Silver, Abba Hillel

Religious Work in Universities

Franklin, Leo M., *Chairman*
Eisendrath, Maurice N.
Fink, Joseph
Fox, G. George
Jaffa, Philip W.
Levi, Harry
Minda, Albert G.
Reichert, Irving F.
Slonimsky, Henry

Social Justice

Israel, Edward L., *Chairman*
Berkowitz, Henry J.
Coffee, Rudolph I.
Cronbach, Abraham
Eisendrath, Maurice N.
Ellis, Milton
Ettelson, Harry W.
Fox, G. George
Frisch, Ephraim
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Goldstein, Sidney E.
Hirshberg, Abraham
Isserman, Ferdinand M.
Koch, Samuel
Leipziger, Emil W.
Levi, Harry
Mayerberg, Samuel S.
Reichert, Victor J.
Rosenblum, William F.
Wise, Stephen S.

Solicitation of Funds

Margolis, Harry, *Chairman*
Alexander, David
Bazell, Solomon N.
Berkowitz, Henry J.
Binstock, Louis
Blatt, Joseph
Brickner, Barnet R.
Calisch, Edward N.
Cohen, Henry
Ettelson, Harry W.
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fink, Joseph L.
Foster, Solomon
Friedman, William S.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Gup, Samuel M.
Hirshberg, Abraham
Kaplan, Israel J.
Koch, Samuel
Lazaron, Morris S.
Levy, Harry
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mann, Louis L.
Mannheimer, Eugene
Marx, David
Mayerberg, Samuel S.
Newman, Louis I.
Reichert, Irving F.
Rosenblum, William F.
Sanders, Ira E.
Skirball, Jack H.
Stern, William .
Thurman, Samuel
Zielonka, Martin

Synagog Music

Wolsey, Louis, *Chairman*
Unger, Sidney E., *Secretary*
Berkowitz, Henry J.
Bettan, Israel
Calisch, Edward N.
Cronbach, Abraham
Freehof, Solomon B.
Heller, James G.
Holtzberg, Abraham
Lazaron, Morris S.
Levy, David
Marx, David
Mayer, Harry H.
Singer, Jacob
Stern, Nathan

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

Source Book of Reform Judaism

Rauch, Joseph, *Chairman*
Bettan, Israel
Ettelson, Harry W.
Feldman, Arthur A.
Harris, Maurice H.
Kaplan, Jacob H.
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Mattuck, Israel I.
Mayer, Harry H.
Philipson, David
Raisin, Jacob S.
Rappaport, Julius
Rhine, Abraham B.
Rosenau, William

Falashas

Landman, Isaac, *Chairman*
Cohen, Henry
Foster, Solomon
Frisch, Ephraim
Lazaron, Morris
Rothstein, Leonard J.

World Union for Progressive Judaism

David Lefkowitz, *Vice-President*

Conference Representatives on Governing Body

Franklin, Leo M.
Schulman, Samuel
Simon, Abram
Wolsey, Louis

TEMPORARY COMMITTEES

President's Message

Philipson, David, *Chairman*
Calisch, Edward N.
Cohen, Henry
Franklin, Leo M.
Freehof, Sol B.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Harris, Maurice H.
Lefkowitz, David
Levi, Charles S.
Morgenstern, Julian
Newfield, Morris
Rosenau, William
Silver, Abba Hillel
Silverman, Joseph
Simon, Abram
Stolz, Joseph
Wolsey, Louis

Nominations

Leipziger, Emil W., *Chairman*
Berkowitz, Henry J.
Brickner, Barnet R.
Cohn, Frederick
Ettelson, Harry W.
Fox, G. George
Kopald, Louis I.
Landman, Isaac
Levinger, Lee J.
Luchs, Alvin S.
Magnin, Edgar F.
Rauch, Joseph
Zielonka, Martin

Resolutions

Currick, Max C., *Chairman*
Blachschleger, Eugene
Gup, Samuel M.
Heller, Bernard
Heller, James G.
Israel, Edward L.
Landman, Solomon
Lazaron, Morris S.
Regner, Sidney L.
Reichert, Victor E.
Rosenbaum, David

Thanks

Kory, Sol L., *Chairman*
Bamberger, Bernard J.
Falk, Gustave F.
Krohngold, Jacob B.
Latz, Charles B.
Mark, Jerome
Raisin, Jacob
Rhine, Abraham

PROGRAM

Wednesday Morning, June 27th

Opening Prayer.....Maurice H. Harris
Address of Welcome.....Mr. Melville S. Welt
Response .....David Lefkowitz
Roll Call
REPORTS:
President .....H. G. Enelow
Recording Secretary.....Isaac E. Marcuson
Corresponding Secretary.....Joseph L. Fink
Treasurer .....Morris Newfield
Solicitation Committee .....Harry S. Margolis
Investment Committee.....Morris Newfield
Finance .....Joseph L. Fink
Publication .....Isaac E. Marcuson
Tracts .....Leo M. Franklin
Church and State.....Edward N. Calisch
Cooperation with International and National Organizations .....H. G. Enelow
Synagog Council of America.....Solomon Foster
International Peace.....Max C. Currick
Good Will.....Abram Simon
Curators of Archives.....Henry Englander

Wednesday Afternoon

REPORTS:
Arbitration .....David Philipson
Social Justice.....Edward L. Israel
Synagog Music .....Louis Wolsey
Contemporaneous History.....Felix A. Levy

Wednesday Evening

Opening Prayer.....William Rosenau
Evening Service from the Union Prayer Book.....Leo M. Franklin
President's Message .....H. G. Enelow
Memorial Resolutions:
Leon Harrison.....Maurice H. Harris
Emil Ellinger.....Moses P. Jacobson
Maxmillian Heller .....Joseph Stolz
Louis A. Mischkind.....Abraham J. Feldman
Kaddish and Benediction.

Thursday, June 27th

Opening Prayer ..... Charles S. Levi
REPORTS:
Liturgical Literature ..... David Philipson
Relief ..... Joseph Stolz
Source Book of Reform ..... Israel Bettan
Falashas ..... Isaac Landman
Neumark Manuscripts ..... Samuel S. Cohon
Amendment to Constitution.
PAPER:
"Recent Archaeological Work in Palestine" ..... Nelson Glueck
Discussion ..... Sheldon Blank

Thursday Evening

PAPERS:
"The Life and Work of Moses Mendelssohn"
A General Survey ..... Walter Rothman
Discussion ..... Bernard J. Bamberger
"Moses Mendelssohn's Ideals of Religion and
Their Relation to Reform Judaism ..... Felix A. Levy
Discussion ..... Sidney S. Tedesche
"The Friendship of Mendelssohn and Lessing and
Its Relation to the Good Will Movement Between Jews and non-Jews ..... Louis J. Kopald
Discussion ..... Albert G. Minda

Friday Morning, June 28th

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION DAY

Opening Prayer ..... Harry A. Merfeld
REPORT:
Committee on Religious Education ..... Louis L. Mann
PAPERS:
"Forty Years of the Reform Jewish Religious School—
Its Achievements and Its Failures" ..... Jacob B. Pollak
"A Critical Evaluation of the Reform
Religious School" ..... Solomon A. Fineberg
Discussion ..... Harvey B. Franklin
REPORT:
Joint Commission on Religious Education ..... David Philipson

Friday Afternoon

Report on Contemporaneous History (Continued) ..... Felix A. Levy
Tours Community Center ..... Benjamin Friedman

Friday Evening

Evening Service from the Union Prayer Book...Philip F. Waterman
Conference Lecture .....Samuel H. Goldenson
Adoration and Kaddish.....Leon Fram
Benediction .....H. G. Enelow

Saturday Morning, June 29th

Morning Service from the Union Prayer Book.....Alvin S. Luchs
Reading from the Torah.....Samuel Wohl
Conference Sermon .....David Philipson
Adoration and Kaddish.....Abram Hirshberg
Benediction .....David Lefkowitz

Saturday Afternoon

SYMPOSIUM BY FORMER PRESIDENTS OF THE CONFERENCE

Reminiscences of Their Several Administrations and Suggestions for the Future. A Round Table.

Joseph Silverman	William Rosenau	Abram Simon
Joseph Stolz	Leo M. Franklin	Louis Wolsey
David Philipson	Edward N. Calisch	

Sunday Morning, June 30th

Opening Prayer.....Samuel R. Shillman
REPORT:
Committee on Resolutions

Sunday Afternoon

REPORTS:
Special Committee on Boy Scouts
Committee on President's Message

Sunday Evening

PAPERS:
"The Aims and the Achievements of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.....David Lefkowitz
Discussion.....Walter G. Peiser, William F. Rosenblum
"Proposals of Future Work for the Central Conference of American Rabbis".....Edgar F. Magnin
Discussion .....Frederick I. Rypins
REPORTS:
Thanks
Nominations
Election of Officers
Benediction
Adjournment

PROCEEDINGS

The Fortieth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was held at Detroit, Michigan, June 26th to June 30th, 1929. The sessions were held in the Assembly room of the Statler Hotel and at Temple Beth El.

The opening session was called to order on Wednesday morning, June the 27th, at nine-thirty o'clock, with the President, Rabbi H. G. Enelow, in the Chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Maurice H. Harris. An address of welcome on behalf of the Detroit Community was delivered by Mr. Melville S. Welt and was responded to by the Vice-President of the Conference, Rabbi David Lefkowitz.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Mr. Melville S. Welt: It is my privilege to say a few words of welcome. I do not intend to make any address. I know full well what a torture it is for you rabbis to listen to anyone else talk, especially a layman.

Detroit was the birthplace of your organization some forty years ago, and it is very fitting that you have returned to the city of your birth for your anniversary. A few of your charter members are still here, but I am sure that those pioneers did not dream that your organization would arrive at its today's strength and numbers; no more did our fathers foresee the Detroit of 1929.

Temple Beth El has grown with the progress of the city. Our pulpit here in Detroit commands the respect and the admiration of all Detroit, Jew and non-Jew, and for this some recognition should be given to your colleague, Dr. Franklin, who has labored here for thirty years.

The majority of the Reform wing of Jewry appreciates the importance of these conferences. We think that it is for you men to mould and to guide Reform Jewish thought, philosophy and practice, and I am sure that you gentlemen appreciate your responsibility.

There will be on hand at all of these meetings, a great many of our Detroit citizens, and it is their aim to make your visit as pleasant and as interesting as it possibly can be made, and I hope that you will call upon them at all times. I am very glad on behalf of the community to extend greetings and expressions of hospitality to you all, and to bid you a generous and a hearty welcome to Detroit. I thank you.

RESPONSE BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

Rabbi Lefkowitz: A response to your cordial welcome cannot be perfunctory, even though this part of the proceedings of similar organizations frequently is of such a character. Both you and the community you represent as well as I and the members of this Conference for whom it is my present privilege to be the spokesman, realize that this is an exceptionally historic occasion. Both the scene in which we convene and the period in our history which these sessions mark conspire to stir our imagination and to thrill us to high achievement.

The scene is historic. The Conference is now your guest for the fourth time in its history. It was here forty years ago that our founder and first president gathered together a small band of his colleagues and former pupils and organized the Central Conference of American Rabbis, on the 9th of July, 1889. Here we again met fourteen years later on June 29, 1903. And it was here that we came as your guests to celebrate the quarter-of-a-century anniversary of our organization. And when we came to plan our fortieth-year Conference program we felt that it could not be appropriately held anywhere but within the borders of this city of our birth.

We come here and note the remarkable changes that time and something else have wrought in the scene. Not only has the city grown from the town it was to stand proudly among the most populous ten cities of our nation, not only has it assumed a highly cultivated and dazzling beauty that bespeaks undreamed of material progress, but it has kept the same place in its spiritual advance. And with the city at large, the Jewish community has by no means remained backward. It is regarded as one of the leading Jewish groups in our land, giving to the rest of American communities not only inspiration but actual princely leadership. And we realize that it is only natural that it should be so, when we think that here a Kohler preached and a Louis Grossman led, and that—without any invidious distinctions of its other rabbis who have done exceptional work—it has had, for over thirty years, the devoted and selfless and outstandingly able ministry of Dr. Leo M. Franklin.

Here at your Beth El you have, like Jacob of old, dreamed—*vayachalom*—and your dream is being realized. You are, through the in-

spirational word and through worship, raising the community ladder skyward, while at the same time making the ground of Jewish consciousness sound and solid by a most ambitious system of adult Jewish education. *Ohen yesh adonai bammakom hazze,* surely God is in this place of our meeting.

And as historic as the scene, so is this anniversary Conference. Forty is traditionally an epochal number, especially in biblical and midrashic literature. We as a Conference feel that we have reached an epoch in our life. Just as Detroit has grown in these forty years, just as its life has become infinitely more complex as a generation has come and gone, so has the Conference grown and so ever less simple become its problems. "There were giants in those days"; who can question it who notes the clarity with which they saw their problems forty years ago and the vigor and wisdom with which they proceeded toward their solution? We need giants, too, in our day, to meet somewhat different yet not less grave problems.

The stimulation and the inspiration lie in the scene and in the hour. *B'ha-alosecho es hanneröt yoeeru shivat hanneros:* the command according to the Scripture reading of the coming Sabbath is that seven lights shall be kindled on the Menorah. That Menorah, the candelabrum of progressive, liberal American Judaism was erected here in Detroit forty years ago. We can do no less, under the spell of this great anniversary occasion, than to kindle at least one clear light on this Menorah, a light that shall shine far into many a dim and devious path in American Jewry, bringing something of that same regeneration and spiritual invigoration to our people which forty years ago streamed forth from this Beth El of the pioneer dreamers of American Judaism.

To the roll call the following 153 members responded present during the Convention.

Aaronsohn, Michael
Ackerman, William
Bamberger, Bernard J.
Baron, Joseph Louis
Bazell, Solomon N.
Berkowitz, Henry J.
Berman, Morton
Bernstein, Philip S.
Bettan, Israel
Binstock, Louis
Blachschleger, Eugene
Blank, Sheldon F.
Brickner, Barnet R.
Calisch, Edward N.
Caplan, Harry
Cohen, Henry
Cohn, Frederick
Cohon, Samuel S.
Currick, Max C.
Davis, Daniel L.
Dorfman, Bernard M.
Eisendrath, Maurice N.
Enelow, Hyman G.
Englander, Henry
Faber, Maurice
Falk, Gustave F.

Feinberg, Abraham L.
Feinstein, Abraham
Feldman, Abraham J.
Feldman, Arthur A.
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fineberg, Solomon A.
Finesinger, Sol. B.
Fink, Joseph L.
Fischer, Mitchell S.
Foster, Solomon
Fox, Gresham George
Fram, Leon
Franklin, Harvey B.
Franklin, Leo M.
Freehof, Solomon B.
Freidless, N. Leon
Freund, Chas. J.
Freund, Hirsch L.
Freund, Iser
Feuer, Leon
Friedmann, Martin
Frisch, Ephraim
Goldberg, David
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Goldstein, Sidney E.
Gordon, Julius
Gordon, Samuel H.
Grafman, L. Elliott
Glueck, Nelson
Greenwald, Milton
Gup, Samuel M.
Harburg, Israel
Harris, Maurice H.
Hausmann, Gustav N.
Heller, Bernard
Heller, James G.
Hibshman, Eugene E.
Hirshberg, Abram
Hurwitz, Samuel D.
Israel, Edward L.
Isserman, Ferdinand M.
Jacobs, Pizer W.
Jaffa, Philip W.
Kaplan, Israel L.
Kaplan, Jacob H.
Kerman, Julius
Kopald, Louis J.
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Kory, Sol L.
Krohngold, Jacob B.
Landman, Isaac
Landman, Solomon
Latz, Charles B.
Lazaron, Morris S.
Lefkowitz, David
Leipziger, Emil W.
Leiser, Joseph
Levey, Irving M.
Levi, Charles S.
Levinger, Lee J.
Levy, Felix A.
Lippman, Mayer
Lovitch, Meyer
Luchs, Alvin S.
Macht, Wolfe
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mann, Louis L.
Mannheimer, Eugene
Marcus, Jacob R.
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Margolis, Harry S.
Mark, Jerome
Markowitz, Samuel H.
Mayerberg, Samuel S.
Mazure, Maurice M.
Menkes, J. B.
Merfeld, Harry A.
Minda, Albert G.
Montaz, Arthur S.
Morgenstern, Julian
Newfield, Morris
Ogel, Jacob J.
Olan, L. A.
Peiser, Walter G.
Philipson, David
Pollak, Jacob B.

Rappaport, Julius
Rauch, Joseph
Regner, Sidney L.
Reichert, Irving F.
Reichert, Victor E.
Rhine, Abraham B.
Richmond, Harry R.
Rosenau, William
Rosenbaum, David
Rosenblum, William F.
Rothman, Walter E.
Rudin, Jacob P.
Rypins, Frederick I.
Salzman, Marcus
Sanders, Ira E.
Sarasohn, Israel J.
Schwartz, Samuel
Schwartz, William B.
Schwarz, Jacob D.
Segel, Alexander D.
Shillman, Samuel R.
Silver, Abba Hillel
Silverman, Joseph
Simon, Abram
Singer, Jacob
Skirball, Jack H.
Snyder, Herman E.
Solomon, George
Stern, William M.
Stolz, Joseph
Stolz, Joseph H.
Thurman, Samuel
Waterman, Philip F.
Wise, Jonah B.
Witt, Louis
Wohl, Samuel
Wolsey, Louis
Zeiger, Bernard
Zepin, George
Zielonka, David
Zielonka, Martin

Messages of greetings were read from Rabbis Samuel H. Baron, Philip D. Bookstaber, Montague N. A. Cohen, Harry W. Ettelson, Henry M. Fisher, Benjamin Friedman, Moses P. Jacobson, Jacob Klein, Nathan Krass, David Marx, Harry H. Mayer, Benjamin Parker, Tobias Schanfarber, Samuel Schulman, Harry J. Stern, Nathan Stern, Sidney S. Tedesche and Benjamin A. Tintner and from Mr. Claude G. Montefiore, President, World Union for Progressive Judaism, Congregation Emanuel, Dallas, Texas, and Miss Jeanette Miriam Goldberg.

The Vice President, Rabbi Lefkowitz, takes the Chair.

Rabbi H. G. Enelow read the annual report of the President.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN:

I

As President of this distinguished body, I have tried throughout the year, as far as possible, to keep in touch with the members. For

that purpose, I issued several letters to our membership, as follows: One at the beginning of the season (on September 14th, 1928); another in the winter (on January 18th, 1929): a third one on April 10th, 1929, and another still on May 13th, 1929. I tried especially to elicit information about the particular interests of our members, what special work they would like to do, and what proposals they could offer for the extension of our activities. In all my letters, I stressed the appeal to the younger men of our organization for expression of their views and predilections. This I did, first, for the sake of the expansion of our work, but also because often younger men complain that they are not given the chance they deserve. My several communications were honored with some gratifying responses, all of which I tried to treat with grateful consideration.

II

At the last Convention, I expressed the hope that in honor of our fortieth anniversary some public-spirited citizens might offer to the Central Conference of American Rabbis such funds as would enable us to meet the various appeals for assistance reaching us from many quarters more adequately than can be done out of our own resources. The first, and thus far, the only, response to this suggestion came from the Hon. Mr. Lucius N. Littauer, of New York. On July 19th, 1928, Mr. Littauer wrote me as follows:

> "Principally for the purpose of a memorandum, I desire hereby to advise you that in January, 1929, (on the occasion of my seventieth birthday) I will send my check to the Conference for $5,000, and again the year thereafter I will send a like amount, for the purpose of creating a fund such as you have described to me for distribution to individuals and bodies in furtherance of progressive Judaism in research, education and general amelioration."

I made the following reply on July 20th.

> "Dear Mr. Littauer,
>
> I wish to acknowledge, with profound gratitude your kind letter of July 19th. It would be futile for me to try to express my appreciation of your generous act. The fund will enable the Central Conference of American Rabbis to grant a subvention to the sort of literary and spiritual enterprises which, as a rule, find it most difficult to get support. I earnestly hope that our use of your gift during the first two years will please you, and

lead to the permanent foundation which you have so largeheartedly conceived.

"I am happy that this new effort of yours will coincide with your seventieth birthday, and I hope you will allow me to express the hope that you may enjoy many more years of health and strength, and that it may be granted to you to derive increasing satisfaction from the numerous benign activities in which you are engaging in so quiet and helpful a spirit.

"I should like to add, if I may, that I really think that this Central Conference of American Rabbis fund that you are creating will be quite unique in American life, and will serve to express the unusual kind of interest that you have been taking in what some of us think is finest in the Jewish purpose and life."

I am sure that the Convention will want to express its appreciation of Mr. Littauer for his generous gift, and I hope that others may be found to follow his magnanimous example.

III

Immediately after the Berlin meeting of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in August, 1928, I went to Seesen-am-Harz on behalf of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in order to visit the Jacobson Temple, the first place of worship dedicated to Reform Judaism by the man the centenary of whose death we observed at our last Convention. As the Central Conference of American Rabbis had decided to contribute toward the reparation of that historic structure, it was necessary to ascertain just what the needs and prospects were.

I found the Temple as beautiful a building as it has often been described, and one decidedly worth saving. It stands on the grounds of the Jacobson School which, after an honorable history of over a century as a private school, was sold to the government after the War because of the shrinkage of the endowment. The Temple, however, could be saved only if it were kept in good condition, which neither the Jacobson Foundation nor the small local Jewish community was able to do. I discovered also that recently Seesen had been chosen by the Berlin Jewish community as a vacation place for Jewish young people, and it seemed to me desirable that the Jacobson Temple should be made available to them as a place of worship. Such use would be especially appropriate, as when this Temple was built, it was intended

primarily for the young. Thus far, however, the effort to open the Temple to the young people has not succeeded, as the Orthodox section behind the vacation project object to their children worshiping at a place where there is an organ, even if the organ is not played. It is hoped, however, that an adjustment may be reached.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis contributed one thousand dollars out of the Littauer Fund toward the restoration of the Jacobson Temple. Moved by this act, the Jüdische Gemeinde of Berlin contributed 2000 Marks, and the Verband der jüdischen Gemeinden Preussens contributed an equal amount. I got also a gift of two hundred dollars from Mr. Abraham Erlanger, of New York, who graciously volunteered to contribute.

As a result, according to a letter from Professor N. Friedland, head of the Jacobson School, dated April 21st, 1929, the necessary repairs have been in process and were expected to be completed in time for the feast of Shabuoth. Two things, however, still are needed: first, restoration of the organ, the metal parts of which were removed during the War; and second, installation of a heating system. As it seems impossible to raise the money in Germany, I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis appropriate an additional amount of two hundred dollars toward the completion of that commendable work.

IV

At last year's convention, the Central Conference of American Rabbis undertook to befriend the Congregation of Braganca, Portugal, as its share in the movement for the return of the Portuguese Marranos to Judaism. I am glad to inform you that this congregation was formally established in June, 1928, and has received the legal recognition of the government. The Synagog, appropriately named *Sha'are Pidyon* (Gates of Redemption), is in the Rua da Estacada, and the necessary equipment of the Synagog was provided by the Oporto Congregation. On Simhath Torah a *Sepher Torah* (with its appurtenances) was presented to it as a gift from the venerable Jewish Community of Leghorn, Italy.

The Congregation, whose President, Senhor Jose Furtado Montanhez, is the Director of the local branch of the Bank of Portugal, is

entirely composed of Marranos who have only recently been admitted into Judaism.

It is of interest to recall that Braganca, with its great and tragic Jewish memories, was the birth-place of Dr. Jacob de Castro Sarmento, F. R. S. (1691-1761), a scientist of distinction, who played an important part in the London Sephardic Community in the eighteenth century. The change in conditions under which a new Jewish life is arising on the ruins of the old is strikingly manifested by the fact that, at the request of the President of the Braganca Synagog, and a number of neo-Jews and others, the Braganca Municipality has given to one of the streets of the town (Rua dos Quarteis) the name of Rua Orobio de Castro, in commemoration of one of its illustrious sons (Balthazar Orobio de Castro, ca. 1620-1687) who, having suffered the tortures of the Inquisition in Spain, became afterwards one of the leaders of the Jewish Community of Amsterdam. A tablet in his memory has now been placed in the street named after him.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis during the past year gave to the Braganca Congregation a subvention of $500.00 from the Littauer Fund and $250.00 from the general fund. It is hoped that this contribution, which has been acknowledged gratefully, may help not only to establish this Congregation on a firm foundation, but also to make it a centre of Jewish instruction and activity for the neighboring Marrano settlements.

On January 5th, 1929, the Israelite Community of Braganca addressed a letter of appreciation to the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in Portuguese, which I acknowledged, and a translation of which I shall read.

> "We are informed by Mr. Paul Goodman, the Secretary of the Portuguese Marranos Committee, that it was resolved in Committee to help our community morally and materially.
>
> The Israelite Community of Braganca is a growing body living in a place where crypto-Jews abound, but struggling, like all young communities, against lack of financial means and against the passive hostility of the Catholic population.
>
> Meanwhile, many recruits have been obtained during recent months, and a certain tendency on the part of crypto-Jews to go over to official Judaism has manifested itself.
>
> It would be the desire of this Community to establish a School for the children of Jews and crypto-Jews, but the financial con-

ditions under which we live and the poverty of the greater part of our co-religionists do not permit of our venturing on this undertaking at the present moment. We are, however, convinced that with the help of our co-religionists, aided by our own efforts and our own good will, we can accomplish a great deal, and that we shall be able to bring back to the fold the flocks that have strayed from these parts.

We thank you again for the honour you have shown us by your patronage.

May the Peace of the Lord be upon you.

On behalf of the Israelite Community of Braganca,

(Signed) Cesario Augusto Lopez,

Secretary."

I recommend that the Convention resolve to continue the interest of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in the work of the Portuguese Marranos Committee, and particularly the Braganca Congregation, and that the new Executive Board be requested to keep in touch with its development.

V

On January 25th, 1929, I addressed a letter to the members of the Executive Board, the main part of which I shall quote:

"I should like to ask your vote on three questions involving appropriations.

"(1) Last year the Central Conference of American Rabbis gave to Dr. B. Lewin, of Haifa, Palestine, $500.00, toward the publication of the first volume of his work, Ozar Geonim. I am sure you won't want me to repeat what I had to say about this work last year. If you care to do so, you may look it up on page 22 of the New Year Book. The first volume which appeared during the summer has evoked praise from competent scholars in various parts of the world.

"Dr. Lewin writes that the second volume which he has begun to print will cost $4,400.00. The Hebrew University is contributing about $1500.00, which means that he requires an additional $3,000.00. It seems to me that we are not in position to give him as much as he would like to get from the Central Conference of American Rabbis; but in view of the unusual worth of this enterprise, I wish to suggest the following: that the Central Conference of American Rabbis contribute $750.00 from the Littauer Fund and $250.00 from the general fund toward the publication of the second volume.

"(2) Another matter which I wish to submit is the need of the Mekitze Nirdamim Society. This society, as you know, was founded away back in the 60's of the last century by an international committee of the most eminent Hebrew scholars, for the purpose of publishing Hebrew works of outstanding merit, either from rare printed texts or from manuscript— chiefly the latter. In the 80's, I believe, the society was revived by a similar committee of eminent scholars. In the course of its existence, it has published a considerable group of important works. If you wish to refresh your memory, you might look up the article in the Jewish Encyclopedia, although it is not up to date. During the War the society went to pieces, and since then it has found it impossible to resume its activities because of lack of funds. I am sure you will agree that it is most desirable to help so useful a society to come to life again, and we can do so by giving it financial assistance.

"I beg to suggest that we grant to the Mekitze Nirdamim for the current year the sum of $500.00 from the Littauer Fund and $200.00 from the general fund. It would be a most creditable act, I believe, for the Central Conference of American Rabbis to enable the Mekitze Nirdamim to resume its activities without further delay.

"(3) I now come to the work in behalf of the Falashas. At my request, Rabbi Landman, the chairman of the Central Conference of American Rabbis committee, asked Mr. Southard, the U. S. Minister to Ethiopia, to report on the Falasha work. The other day Rabbi Landman received a reply from Mr. Southard, the salient part of which I quote herewith.

> 'Dr. Jacques Faitlovitch, Director of the School, arrived here about three months ago with his sister. He has prepared his school for reopening at the recently occurred end of the rainy season. A few days ago I visited the establishment and found about thirty boys attending classes. Appearances indicated that the work was earnest and honest, but that great economy had to be practiced because of shortage of funds.
>
> 'The school is represented locally as an American enterprise and our country will consequently receive credit for any accomplishments. So far as can be ascertained, the Ethiopian Government has no objection to the school. His Majesty, King Tafari Makonnen, has orally indicated to me his friendly esteem and respect for Dr. Faitlovitch. The latter recently informed me that the King has promised a small contribution

of money towards the school. This is probable, although I have not had the opportunity to confirm it.

'Dr. Faitlovitch recently informed me that he had practically completed the purchase of a local ground site to be used for the construction of a permanent school. It is my opinion that if the enterprise is to flourish it should have its own land and buildings, and that Dr. Faitlovitch has accordingly taken a step in the right direction.

'In summary, I may say that I am unable to learn anything locally disadvantageous to the school, or to Dr. Faitlovitch. The enterprise appears a sound one, capable of being encouraged to do much good for the Falashas and for the prestige of the United States as the known source of its activity and financial support.'

"Last week an urgent telegram came from Dr. Faitlovitch begging for immediate help.

"Rabbi Landman has appealed to the Central Conference of American Rabbis for a substantial contribution in this emergency, and I should like to suggest that in view of the favorable report received from the U. S. Minister, the Central Conference of American Rabbis make a special contribution of $200.00 to the Falasha work. I beg to add that I shall have it understood that if we make such a contribution, it shall be sent entirely to the Falashas, without any deduction for administrative expenses at this end."

The vote was as follows:

11 for all three requests.

1 for all three requests, favoring an increased appropriation for the Falashas.

1 for all three requests, favoring adding a hundred dollars or so for the Falashas.

1 voted $500.00 for Dr. Lewin's work to be taken out of the Littauer Fund; $500.00 for Mekitze Nirdamim, to be taken out of the Littauer Fund, and favored sending $200.00 to the Falashas.

1 voted $750.00 from the Littauer Fund for Dr. Lewin's work, and $250.00 from the general fund; for Mekitze Nirdamim, $300.00 from the Littauer Fund, and $200.00 from the general fund, and was not in favor of appropriating any Central Conference of American Rabbis funds for the Falashas.

1 felt $1,000 too much for the Conference to appropriate for Dr.

Lewin's work; did not commit himself as to grant to Mekitze Nirdamim, and voted in favor of appropriation for Falashas.

As a result, the sum of one thousand dollars was sent to Dr. Lewin; seven hundred dollars to the Mekitze Nirdamim Society, and two hundred to the Falasha Committee. Grateful acknowledgements have been received from all.

Dr. Lewin's second volume is now in process of publication, and I hope that the Central Conference of American Rabbis may feel gratified at being able to help so important an enterprise, and that it may see fit to continue to support it.

As for the Mekitze Nirdamin, Professor D. Simonsen, of Copenhagen, the present Chairman, on April 4th, 1929, addressed to the Central Conference of American Rabbis the following German letter, which I shall give in translation.

> "For the subvention of seven hundred dollars which the Central Conference of American Rabbis has sent to the Mekitze Nirdamim Society, I, as Chairman of the Committee of the Society, beg the Conference to accept our profound thanks. The World War has shaken our position both in Eastern Europe and in Central Europe, and has raised immensely the cost of printing. Our Society, therefore, is uncommonly thankful not only for the contribution sent to us, but also the interest shown by the Conference in our Society. We hope that our work may continue to find in your circles a similar interest."

This contribution has stimulated the Mekitze Nirdamim to resume its activities, and I am informed by Dr. Simonsen that it has the following plans for the near future: the second volume of Rabiah, edited by Prof. W. Aptowitzer, to be issued shortly; another part of the Diwan of Judah Ha-Levi to follow soon thereafter, whereupon the earlier volumes of the Diwan, now almost entirely out of print, are to be reprinted; the Midrash Ha-Gadol on Exodus is to have another part edited by Prof. Louis Ginzberg; the travel book of Azulay, of which one part came out some time ago, is to be concluded by Prof. Freimann.

Finally, the Society, assisted financially by a German Maecenas, expects to be able to publish the Arabic Responsa of Maimonides, with a new Hebrew translation. For this work no editor as yet has been appointed.

VI

On March 19th, 1929, I wrote to the Executive Board as follows:

"No doubt you have heard that a fund is being raised for Matzoth for the Jews of Russia. The need is urgent, as, on account of failure of crops, no matzoth are available in Russia. I think it would be proper for the Central Conference of American Rabbis to contribute to this fund, and I earnestly hope you will agree with me. I suggest we give $250.00. Perhaps that it not enough, but I don't want to take a chance on suggesting more. This is a cause, I believe, which ought to appeal to all Jews, and I am sure the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis would approve of our contribution.

"As the money must go at once, may I ask you kindly to send me your vote immediately?"

I am glad to say, the whole Board voted in favor of the appropriation.

VII

Another inquiry I addressed to the Executive Board on April 11th, 1929, the chief part of which I shall quote.

"(1) At a meeting of the Executive Board in the fall of 1927, a grant of $25.00 a month was made to Rabbi Nissenbaum, of Warsaw, for the purpose of enabling him to carry on his literary work. Rabbi Nissenbaum is one of the most eminent Hebrew writers and preachers, and has devoted his life to the service of the Jewish people. Unfortunately, he became blind a short time ago, and the Executive Board granted him a monthly stipend for secretarial service. The last payment was sent him in February, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis is now asked to continue the stipend for another year, if possible. I hope you will favor our doing so, and, if so, we shall continue to send Rabbi Nissenbaum at the rate of $25.00 a month for another year from the time the last payment was made.

"(2) May I also ask you in regard to the publicity for the next meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis? I should like to recommend that we engage Mr. Louis Popkin for this work. I hope that you will authorize me, as President, to arrange for the publicity of the Detroit Convention."

The reason for the suggestion and the terms, also, were stated.

The vote was as follows:

Fifteen voted in favor of both; one voted yes on (1) and no on (2). Mr. Popkin received the appointment. As for Rabbi Nissenbaum, I hope that the Convention will approve the subvention and will direct the new Executive Board to continue it for the period in question.

VIII

Still another letter I addressed to the Executive Board on April 16th, 1929. It was as follows:

> "Prof. Abraham Kahana, of Tel Aviv, Palestine, is anxious to get a subvention from the Central Conference of American Rabbis for his Commentary on the Bible. You probably know that this work was begun some twenty years ago, and that several volumes came out before the War, receiving the highest praise from scholars all over the world. During the War the publication was suspended. But recently two new volumes came out—one on Proverbs and one on Job. Prof. Kahana writes that he has two additional volumes ready for the press, namely, the second part of the Minor Prophets, with a commentary by several scholars, and one volume on Ezra and Nehemiah, with a commentary by Prof. Kahana himself.
>
> "I am sure you are familiar with the unusual merit of this scholarly enterprise, and I hope you will agree that it especially deserves our support, in view of the fact that whereas numerous commentaries on the Bible keep on appearing from non-Jewish pens, very little along this line is done by Jewish writers. Prof. Kahana writes that he now has incurred an indebtedness of $1800.00 on the publication of this work, and that he cannot proceed without some financial assistance. While I cannot recommend at present the entire amount, I should like to suggest that we grant him a subvention of $1000.00 from Lucius N. Littauer Fund of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. We still have that amount at our disposal, and I hope you will agree that this would be a good way of using it. I think Prof. Kahana will be very thankful for such an appropriation, and it will serve to advance a most important contribution by Jewish scholars to the interpretation of the Bible."

This letter brought the following replies:

15 voted in favor of the appropriation; one approved the gift with a reservation.

Accordingly, a voucher for $1,000 was sent to Prof. Kahana on April 30th, 1929, and was acknowledged with thanks.

Prof. Kahana has in view the following new volumes for his series:

(1) The Minor Prophets, volume 2, edited by Dr. Wynkoop, Dr. Hirschler, Dr. Max L. Margolis, and Mr. Kahana himself.

(2) Ezra and Nehemiah by Mr. Kahana.

(3) The Five Scrolls, edited by Dr. Perles, Dr. Hirschler, Dr. Segal, Dr. Cassuto, and Mr. Kahana.

(4) Judges, edited by Dr. Segal. Besides, there is to be an extra volume of Introduction by Prof. Kahana.

Prof. Kahana seems to find it difficult to secure assistance for his work elsewhere, and I bespeak for it an additional appropriation by the Convention.

IX

Last year the Conference undertook to further the publication of the new edition of Benjacob's Thesaurus of Hebrew books. After a good deal of correspondence, I received a letter from Prof. Sobernheim, Chairman of the Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, dated May 22nd, 1929, the main parts of which I shall give in translation:

> "We are today in position to inform you that a thorough examination of the manuscript of Benjacob's Thesaurus has taken place, resulting in valuable clarification of the subject. At our request, Rabbi Dr. Freimann of Berlin; Prof. Dr. Freimann of Frankfort-on-the-Main; Mr. Sigmund Seeligman, Amsterdam; Prof. D. Simonsen, Copenhagen; Dr. Arthur Spanier, Berlin; and Dr. Gotthold Weil, Berlin, declared themselves ready to let us have a written opinion on the value of the work. All these gentlemen are unanimous in their verdict as to its extraordinary high value and pronounce it as an undeniable necessity that this important work of Benjacob should be published and made accessible to students. Also, a number of the most eminent specialists in Hebrew bibliography have volunteered to read the proofs and to supply additions.
>
> "But the examination has also taught us that it is necessary to engage a bibliographical specialist who would put the final touches to the manuscript and prepare for the press those parts of the work the late author left unfinished, by utilizing the author's numerous notes and memoranda. This editorial task will cause quite a large expense, as it will involve the engage-

ment of a man for a considerable length of time and as it could be undertaken only by a scholar of the first rank. Nevertheless, all the specialists whose opinion we have sought have urged without exception the inauguration of this work, because they regard the publication as an unquestionable desideratum. For this scientific examination and editorial preparation of the Thesaurus, we are thinking of using the sum of $1250 annually for five years, which you have proposed, and we therefore ask you to see whether such a subvention would be granted by the next Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and put at the disposal of our Society for this purpose. We then should proceed immediately, and the printing could begin within a few months.

"By a fortunate circumstance, we have found a publisher who is interested in the publication of the new Benjacob, and who has offered to undertake the printing at his expense, if the manuscript is delivered to him by the Society in printable form. As soon as we have had official notice that the subvention has been granted, we shall immediately make a definite arrangement with the publisher."

In reply to this letter, I urged Prof. Sobernheim to proceed with the preparation of the first volume, in view of the fact that for the present year the Executive Board had already appropriated $1,000 from the Littauer Fund for this purpose.

I recommend that this Convention vote favorably on this project, in order to make it possible for the new edition of Benjacob's Thesaurus to be produced. I think it would be regarded as a service of unusual importance to scholarship and that the Central Conference of American Rabbis would have cause for satisfaction to have had so important a share in its promotion.

X

Another work to which I desire to call your attention is the Commentary on the Book of Job by Prof. Harry Torczyner of Berlin. This book, in German, first appeared in 1920, and has been commended most highly by scholars, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Dr. Torczyner's object in this commentary is twofold: first, to show that one reason why the Book of Job presents so many difficulties is that the traditional text was badly confused by its original collectors and copyists; and secondly, to prove that we need more careful and com-

prehensive study of the Hebrew text itself, in relation to parallels in other parts of the Bible and Jewish literature, in order to solve many of the problems it presents. That the text is confused, and needs to be reconstructed, Prof. Moses Buttenweiser demonstrated in his admirable work on Job, which also appeared in 1920, and which Dr. Torczyner could not have seen when his own work was printed. As to the literary and philological study of the text, there can be no doubt that Dr. Torczyner's researches are most valuable and deserve encouragement.

Dr. Torczyner now has in press a revised edition which will be more exhaustive than the first, and is sure to advance our knowledge of this masterpiece of Hebrew poetry. He needs the sum of five hundred dollars, in order to have this new edition published, and I heartily recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis grant him a subvention for this purpose.

XI

Still another enterprise is a literary Year Book in the Hebrew language, which it is proposed to inaugurate in this country, and in behalf of which an appeal has been made to the Central Conference of American Rabbis. This project is headed by Mr. M. Rybalov, the editor of the Ha-Doar, who, with devotion to Jewish life and literature, combines a Hebrew style of rare vigor and clarity. The year book he is planning is to consist partly of belles-lettres and is to include studies in Jewish history and literature by eminent scholars both in this country and overseas. I hope you may regard this undertaking as worthy of the support of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and I recommend that the Conference vote it as large a subsidy as it may see fit.

XII

The year, 1935, will mark the eighth centenary of the birth of Moses Maimonides, and in various parts preparations are being made for its celebration. In view of that event, the effort that is being made at Tiberias, Palestine, where Maimonides is buried, to erect a synagog in his memory, deserves particular notice. Such a building would serve, first, as a place of worship; but also as a reminder to both inhabitants and visitors of the greatness of Maimonides and of the influence he exerted on medieval life and thought. An appeal in its

behalf has been addressed to the Central Conference of American Rabbis by the Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, who has been visiting Palestine and who also wishes to extend greetings to this Convention.

I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis make a contribution to this enterprise, which is in charge of the Maimonides Committee of Tiberias, and that the members of the Conference be asked to help it in their own communities as far as possible.

XIII

On October 5th, 1928, Mr. Jacob Landau, Managing Editor of the Jewish Daily Bulletin, requested that the Central Conference of American Rabbis appoint some of its members on a National Advisory Board which that publication was establishing. Being assured that this would not involve any financial responsibility, I appointed the following to serve on such an advisory board: Rabbi Samuel H. Goldenson, Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, Rabbi David Lefkowitz, Rabbi Louis L. Mann, Rabbi Abba H. Silver, Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, and Rabbi Louis Wolsey. I hope this Convention will approve the appointments and decide whether it desires the Central Conference of American Rabbis to continue to be represented on the advisory board of the Jewish Daily Bulletin.

XIV

The Non-Zionist Conference on the Jewish Agency was held in New York on Saturday evening, October 21st, and the following day. I attended the evening meeting, as representative of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. But, unfortunately, I was prevented by unavoidable professional engagements from attending the meeting on Sunday morning. I sent the following telegram to Mr. Louis Marshall, who was kind enough to read it to the convention:

> "I regret exceedingly being prevented by a professional duty from attending Non-Zionist Conference this morning, and I am sending you the resolution unanimously adopted by the recent meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in case you should find it desirable to announce it."

I then quoted the resolution on the subject adopted at our last year's convention.

XV

During the year I had occasion to represent the Central Conference of American Rabbis on several pleasant occasions.

On October 19th, I addressed Oheb Shalom Congregation of Baltimore, Maryland, at its 75th anniversary celebration.

On November 3rd, I gave an address at the banquet given by the Rockdale Avenue Temple of Cincinnati, Ohio, in honor of Dr. Philipson's 40th anniversary.

On December 7th, I addressed Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, Newark, N. J., at its 80th anniversary celebration.

On December 15th, I gave an address at Rodeph Shalom, Philadelphia, Pa., in honor of the dedication of its new Temple.

On January 26th, I gave an address at the banquet of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, in honor of Dr. Abram Simon's 25th anniversary.

On February 15th, I preached at Temple Emanu-El, Lynbrook, Long Island, N. Y.

On February 22nd, I addressed the Congregation of Temple of the Covenant of New York City.

On May 17th, I gave an address for the Temple Society of Concord, Syracuse, N. Y., in honor of its 90th anniversary celebration.

I also sent the following congratulatory messages:

To Rabbi Albert G. Minda of Minneapolis, on the dedication of the new Temple of his Congregation.

To Rabbi Rappaport.

To Rabbi William B. Schwartz, on his call to the Far Rockaway Congregation.

To Temple Mt. Sinai, El Paso, Texas, on the celebration of its 30th anniversary.

To Congregation B'nai Israel of Galveston, Texas, in honor of the dedication of the Henry Cohen Community House.

To Rabbi Harold F. Reinhart of Los Angeles, California, on his call to the West End Synagog of London, England.

To Rabbi Samuel J. Abrams, on the dedication of the new Beacon Street Temple, Brookline, Mass.

To Rabbi Alvin S. Luchs, on his call to Temple Israel, New Rochelle, N. Y.

To Rabbi Morris Goldstein, of Niagara Falls, N. Y., on his call to Liverpool.

To Rabbi Max Raisin, of Paterson, N. J., on the 80th anniversary celebration of his Congregation.

To Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin, of Los Angeles, California, on the dedication of the new Temple of his Congregation.

To Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman, of Toronto, Canada, on his election to Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.

To Rabbi Solomon A. Feinberg, of White Plains, N. Y., on his call to Sinai Temple, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

To Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, in honor of his 80th birthday.

To. Mr. Lucius N. Littauer for his 70th birthday.

During the year I also sent several messages of sympathy in behalf of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. One I addressed on September 13th to Mr. Julius Glaser, President of Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo., on the death of Dr. Harrison. As a matter of record, I shall quote it:

"Just returned to the city. I was shocked to hear of the tragic death of your illustrious rabbi, Dr. Harrison. On behalf of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, permit me to extend to you and your congregation, as well as to the family of Dr. Harrison, our heartfelt sympathy at the passing of your beloved minister, who was one of the most eloquent exponents of the religion of Israel, and whose loss will be felt by the whole community."

On November 24th, I sent the following telegram to Prof. John R. Sampey, Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., on the death of President Mullins, one of the most distinguished religious leaders of our country:

"Grieved to hear of the passing of Dr. Mullins. May I ask you to convey my sincere sympathy and that of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to Mrs. Mullins and the members of your Seminary? Faithful devotee and eloquent exponent of his own faith, Dr. Mullins had a sympathetic eye for the good contained in other men's religions and by his teaching and character he helped make Louisville a centre of neighborly good will and spiritual idealism. I am proud of having enjoyed his friendship and, with all touched by his influence, I shall cherish his memory."

On March 31st, I sent the following telegram to Mrs. Max Heller, New Orleans:

"Grieved to learn of the passing of your distinguished husband. Permit me to offer to you and your family my own sincere sympathy and that of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. As one of the most brilliant members of our profession, his memory will be cherished by many admirers whose hearts are with you in your great bereavement."

On June 21st, I sent the following telegram to Mr. and Mrs.

Mischkind, Brooklyn, N. Y., the parents of the late Rabbi Louis A. Mischkind:

> "On behalf of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, permit me to extend sincerest sympathy at the passing of your son. His brilliant mind and passion for righteousness endeared him to us all, and we shall always cherish his memory as a gifted teacher and colleague. We pray Heaven may help you to bear your great bereavement."

I also sent messages of sympathy to Mrs. Frances Ellinger, on the passing of her husband, Rabbi Emil Ellinger; to Dr. Stephen S. Wise on the death of his brother, and Mr. Julius Rosenwald on the death of his wife.

On January 10th, I sent a message to the U. S. Senate, quoting the resolution passed at the last Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and stated that a similar resolution was presented by the Committee on International Peace of the Conference.

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Finally, I wish to thank you again most heartily for the great honor you bestowed upon me in raising me to this high office. I have tried to do its work as well as I could, and if I did not fail entirely, it was due to the generous help I have received from my fellow-officers and many members. To all of them—and especially to the chairmen of committees, and to Rabbi Marcuson and Rabbi Fink, and to Rabbi Newfield, our able and conscientious treasurer, who for many years has looked after this important part of our business, and to those who have graciously undertaken to carry out the program of the present Convention—to all I wish to express my warmest appreciation.

Respectfully submitted,

H. G. ENELOW,

President.

The report was received with thanks and the recommendations were referred to the Committee on President's Message. (See page 148).

The report of the Recording Secretary was read by Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.

REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Recording Secretary begs leave to submit the following actions of the Executive Board on the various matters brought before it, and for which it asks your approval:

Meetings. Three meetings of the Executive Board have been held since the last Convention, namely, Chicago, Illinois, July 2nd, 1928; Cincinnati, Ohio, October 9th, 1928; Detroit, Michigan, June 25th, 1929.

Pensions. The report of the Committee on Relief was read and pensions were awarded for the year according to its recommendations.

Community House at Tours. It was moved and adopted that a committee to consist of the chaplains who served with the A. E. F. during the War shall endeavor to raise the money needed to erect a community house at Tours, France. The committee was to consist of Benjamin Friedman, Chairman, Israel Bettan, Louis I. Egelson, Solomon B. Freehof, James G. Heller, Jacob B. Krohngold and Harry R. Richmond.

Fund For Subventions. It was moved and adopted that the President of the Conference shall be chairman of a committee which he shall be authorized to organize in order to raise a fund for subventions in honor of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Conference.

Group Insurance. In conformity with the action of the special committee appointed during the Convention, the President was instructed to make a new study of the question of Group Insurance, and if he feels it is advisable, that he be authorized to appoint a new committee to make a thorough study of the question of Group Insurance for the members of the Conference.

On the resolution which was adopted asking that a further study be made of group insurance on the plan submitted by the Prudential Life Insurance Company, the President reported that nothing new had been presented by the representatives of the Company to alter his previous adverse opinion. It was moved and adopted that the communications received from the representatives of the company be submitted to insurance experts for their opinion and the President be requested to report the findings at a future meeting of the Board.

Pedagogium at Vienna. It was moved and adopted that no subvention be given by the Conference to the Pedagogium at Vienna.

Union Hymnal. It was moved and adopted that the name of the Committee on Revision of the Union Hymnal shall not appear on the title page but, should the committee desire, the name of the professional musician, engaged to assist in the work of revision, may appear in a foreword or introduction to the volume.

Social Justice Commission. It was moved and adopted that a committee consisting of Rabbis Israel, Goldenson and Jonah B. Wise be authorized to confer with the authorities of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to ascertain whether or not the Social Justice Commission of the Union can be reorganized.

Tract Commission. The Executive Board named Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof to succeed himself as a member of the Tract Commission.

Tracts in Yiddish. Rabbi Krim having sent in a tract in Yiddish with a request that the Conference publish it, it was moved and adopted that the Executive Board recommend to the Tract Commission the publication of literature in Yiddish with a further recommendation that this tract be considered for publication. It was further moved and adopted that the Social Justice Commission be asked to consider the advisability of publishing the Social Justice platform of the Conference in Yiddish.

Yiddish Tracts. The President called attention to the fact that the Tract Commission had misunderstood the previous action of the Exutive Board in requesting the publication of certain tracts in Yiddish, and it was moved and adopted that the Secretary again bring this matter to the attention of Rabbi Freehof, the Conference representative on the Tract Commission.

Social Justice Platform. It was moved and adopted that the Social Justice Commission be requested to have reprints made of the Social Justice Platform and sent out to the members of the Conference in time so that they may be included in the holiday notices.

Mafteach Hatalmud. It was moved and adopted that a voucher for $500.00 be sent to Dr. M. Guttman to assist in publishing his Mafteach Hatalmud in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1925.

Time and Place of Next Convention. It was moved and adopted that the next convention of the Conference shall be held in the city of Detroit from June 26th to July 1st, 1929.

Program Committee. Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof was named Chairman of the Program Committee for the next Convention. The program was tentatively adopted and was sent to the members.

Religious Education Day. It was moved and adopted that the following subjects be submitted to the Chairman of the Committee on Religious Education suggesting them as a basis of the papers for Religious Education Day:

> What has been going on in the religious schools connected with the Reform Synagog in the last forty years?
>
> A Survey of the Religious Schools in Reform Congregations in the past, and the Outlook for the Future.

Revision of the Union Prayer Book. A letter was read by the President from Rabbi Sol Landman on the subject of the revision of the Prayer Book and was considered in connection with the motion made at the last convention that the Executive Board have a paper at the next convention on the subject of the revision of the Union Prayer Book. It was moved and adopted that in view of the recent revision of the Prayer Book and in view of the further fact that there was a paper on the Theology of the Union Prayer Book at the last convention, the Executive Board did not consider it advisable at this time to have another paper on the subject.

Mendelssohn Memorial Volume. It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board approve the suggestion of the President, that the Conference shall issue a Mendelssohn Memorial Volume with Dr. Jacob Mann as editor.

Littauer Foundation. The President announced a gift of $5000.00 a year for the next two years from Mr. Lucius N. Littauer for the establishment of a foundation for the furthering of Jewish literary enterprises and the promotion of the cause of Judaism along spiritual lines. The President stated that if the gift of $5000.00 a year for the first two years was used in a way agreeable to Mr. Littauer, that Mr. Littauer would probably establish a permanent foundation to yield the Conference $5000.00 a year to be expended for these purposes. It was moved and adopted that a telegram conveying the thanks of the Executive Board in the name of the Conference be transmitted to Mr. Littauer by the Corresponding Secretary and that a letter of congratulation be sent to Mr. Littauer on his birthday anniversary in January.

It was moved and adopted that the money from the Littauer foundation be kept in a special fund to be known as the Lucius N. Littauer Fund and that all interest accruing therefrom shall be credited to this special fund.

Littauer Fund Subvention. It was moved and adopted that whenever a book is published through a subvention from the Littauer fund it shall be with the understanding that credit be given to the fund on the title page of the volume.

Interest on Special Fund. It was moved and adopted that whenever a special fund is created for a special purpose, that the interest thereon shall be credited to this special fund and not to the Relief Fund as has been the custom in the past.

Pensions. It was moved and adopted that the Committee on Relief be requested to make an analytical study of all pensions now being granted and ascertain whether they are still of an amount to fit the needs of the recipients.

Contemporaneous History Report. It was moved and adopted that the Chairman of the Committee on Contemporaneous History be notified of the previous action of the Executive Board as to the type of report which the Executive Board feels this committee should present with the request that the chairman of the committee shall limit his report to such items as are in accord with this action of the Executive Board.

Year Book Dedication. It was moved and adopted that Volume 38 of the Yearbook be dedicated to the memory of Dr. Moses Mielziner in commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of his birth and that a picture of Dr. Mielziner be inserted in the volume.

Klotchkin's Dictionary. It was moved and adopted that Dr. Klotchkin be notified to send copies of his new book to the Hebrew Union College to the value of the subvention granted him.

Auditor's Report. It was moved and adopted that the Secretary be instructed to correct the Auditor's report and transfer money charged against the Horace J. Wolf fund as Social Justice Expenses to the general fund.

Horace J. Wolf Fund. It was moved and adopted that the Social Justice Commission be requested to make specific recommendation as to what use shall be made of the accrued interest of the Horace J. Wolf fund.

Children's Services for Hymnals. Rabbi Freehof reported that the children's services to be used in the new Union Hymnal would be ready in about a month. It was moved and adopted that when this material is ready, it shall first be submitted to the Liturgical Committee for submission to the full membership of the Conference with a time limit for revision and corrections. When the Liturgical Committee shall have considered and acted upon these suggestions and revisions, the manuscript of the services shall be turned over to the Hymnal Revision Committee to be set to music and to be included in the Hymnal.

Union Hymnal Revision. It was moved and adopted that the Chairman of the Committee on the revision of the Union Hymnal be informed that the clause in his report which stated that the Editor shall receive $1000.00 plus whatever expenses might be incurred was indefinite and the Executive Board felt that a clearer statement should be made. Whereas only $1000.00 was appropriated to cover the whole expenses of the Committee, the Executive Board felt that the Chairman should give some estimate as to how much additional expense would be involved. It was the sense of the Executive Board that the contract made with the musical editor was vague on this point and that no further expense should be incurred by the editor beyond the $1000.00 which is being paid except what he might be compelled to

pay to others for compositions which the committee on revision has accepted.

Subsidies. Maranos. It was moved and adopted that the President shall communicate to Mr. Goodman, the honorable secretary of the Marano committee, the fact that the Conference has decided to undertake to finance for the current year the Braganca Congregation. The sum placed at the disposal of the President which he shall expend at his own discretion is not to exceed $1000.00, of which $250.00 shall be taken from the general fund of the Conference and the balance to be taken from the Lucius N. Littauer fund.

Seesen Synagog. The President was authorized to use at his discretion a sum not to exceed $1000.00 from the Littauer fund for the restoration of the Synagog at Seesen.

Ben Jacob Publication. It was moved and adopted that the President be instructed to write to Dr. Schorr and ascertain what other assistance he expects to receive and to further inform him that the Conference will give a sum not to exceed $1000.00 from the Littauer fund for the publication of Ben Jacob's Ozar Ha-Sepharim.

Harkavy Volume. It was moved and adopted that a committee consisting of the President and Drs. Freehof and Jacob Mann be authorized to spend out of the Littauer fund a sum not to exceed $1000 00 for the publication of the Harkavy Volume. It was further moved and adopted that Professor David Maggid be given $25.00 a month for twelve months for editorial work on the volume.

Eugene Mittwoch. A subsidy of $100.00 was voted to Eugene Mittwoch to aid in the publication of his volume on Semitics

A. F. D. W. D. J. A subsidy of $100.00 was voted to the Academie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums.

Leaflets on Healing. It was moved and adopted that the recommendation of the Committee on Synagog and Mental Healing that the Conference publish leaflets of readings on healing be referred to the Tract Commission.

Papers of Absent Members. It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board reaffirm the fixed rule of the Conference that papers shall not be presented when the author is not present.

Get. It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board felt that it was not within the province of the Conference to sanction a divorce by issuing a *get* or certificate as the Rabbi does in case of a marriage. That when the Rabbi officiates at a marriage, he does so as an officer of the State. But a divorce is purely a legal action with which the Rabbi has no connection.

Boy Scout Committee. The attention of the Executive Board was called to the fact that the Jewish Committee on Scouting was using the name of the Central Conference of American Rabbis on the stationery of the committee as one of the affiliated members. The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to bring to the attention of Mr. Cyrus Adler, Chairman of the Committee, the fact that this use of the name of the Conference was unauthorized and that a copy of our resolution on the subject of the introduction of religion into Scouting be sent to the Committee and to the Rabbis whose names appear on the list as representatives of the Conference.

Message of Thanks. A message of thanks was sent to Mr. Milford Stern of Detroit for his kind invitation extended in the name of Congregation Beth El inviting the Conference to hold the 40th Anniversary Convention in the city of Detroit.

Armistice Day Celebration. The President reported that he had communicated with the Committee in charge of the Armistice Day Celebration in New York asking in what way the Central Conference of American Rabbis could cooperate in their program. It was moved and adopted that the President shall be authorized to cooperate in any way that he thinks best.

Rabbi's Manual. The recommendation of the Committee which prepared the Rabbi's Manual that the afternoon service which was incorporated in the Manual shall be included in future editions of the Prayer Book was referred to the Liturgical Committee. The Publications Committee was authorized to issue a reprint of the special service at the cemetery from the Rabbi's Manual if there was a demand for this service.

Year Book Editor. Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson was re-elected Editor of the Year Book for the ensuing year.

Commission on Good Will. Rabbi Simon read the report of the Commission on Good Will and recommended that the Commission be discontinued and that the work of the Commission be undertaken by the Conference Committee on Cooperation with International and National Organizations.

Bibliography. Letters from Rabbi Singer concerning his bibliography and from Rabbi Jacob Kaplan concerning the issuing of a *get* by the Conference were read but no action was taken.

Pension Fund. A letter was read from Mr. Lee K. Frankel of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company asking that a representative be permitted to appear before the Convention to explain to the members the proposed Pension plans. It was moved and adopted that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company be thanked for its kind offer, but that they be informed that as this plan had already been presented to the Conference and endorsed by it, it would be superflu-

ous to put them to the trouble of sending a speaker, but that the Company should communicate with the congregations and inform them of the plan.

Place of Next Meeting. A letter from Rabbi Nathan Gordon suggesting that the next meeting of the Convention be held in Montreal was referred to the October meeting.

Religious Education Day Program. A letter was read by the President suggesting that the Commission on Religious Education be permitted to formulate the programs for Religious Education Day. It was moved and adopted that the Chairman be notified that it is the opinion of the Executive Board that the Conference should prepare its own Religious Day program through its Committee on Religious Education with such assistance as it may secure from the Commission on Religious Education.

National Federation of Religious Liberals. It was moved and adopted that the Conference again become a member of the National Federation of Religious Liberals at the usual dues.

National Conference of Jews and Christians. It was moved and adopted that action on the invitation to become a member of the National Conference of Jews and Christians be postponed until the October meeting.

Elected to Membership. The following were elected to membership: Herbert Ivan Bloom, J. X. Cohen, Victor Eppstein, Abraham Freed, Joseph J. Freedman, Ariel Goldburg, Norman M. Goldburg, Melbourne Harris, Jacob Halevi, Maurice A. Hirshberg, Samuel Dodkin Hurwitz, Morris M. Rose, Louis J. Segel, Henry Tavel, Samuel Teitelbaum, Jacob J. Weinstein, Bernard Zeiger, David L. Zielonka.

Boy Scouts. The President reported correspondence which he had had in regard to the Jewish committee on scouting, and it was moved and adopted that all correspondence upon the subject be referred to a special committee to report to the Convention.

League to Safeguard the Fixity of the Sabbath. It was moved and adopted that the action of the President in allowing the League to use the name of the Central Conference of American Rabbis during the past season be approved, but the question of the Conference joining the League shall be referred to the Convention when the report of the Synagog Council on this subject is presented.

Synagog Council Report. The President read a communication from Dr. Samuel Schulman, claiming that he was Chairman of the Synagog Council Group of the Conference, and that he should present the report to the Convention. It was moved and adopted that the Secretary be instructed to notify Dr. Schulman that the President

had presented his communication, and that the Executive Board had decided that the Conference merely had representatives on the Synagog Council, with no Chairman. It was likewise decided that the same arrangement which holds with other Commissions, shall apply in regard to the Synagog Council, namely, that when the Chairman of the organization is a member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, he shall prepare the report for the convention. If, however, the Chairman of the Synagog Council is not a member of the Conference, the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis shall appoint one of our representatives to report to the Convention.

Communication From Rabbi Zielonka. The President read a communication from Rabbi Zielonka in which he again asked that the Convention go on record in regard to local branches of chain stores keeping open on the Holy Day. The Executive Board repeated its former resolution that this was a local matter and outside of the province of the Conference. In regard to the second matter proposed by Rabbi Zielonka, in regard to variations in the ritual, it was moved and adopted that Rabbi Zielonka be notified that the Liturgical Committee is making provision to gather up all variations in the ritual.

Courtesy to Strangers. A communication from Rabbi H. E. Snyder calling attention to the fact that strangers were not extended the courtesy of seats in local Synagogs was read, and it was moved and adopted that the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations be notified that more publicity should be given to its resolution calling on congregations to extend the courtesy of seats to members from other cities.

Religious Education Commission. It was moved and adopted that Rabbi Leo M. Franklin be appointed to fill the unexpired term of Max Heller on the Commission on Religious Education.

Executive Board, Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In accordance with the resolution adopted last year, that the President of the Conference shall be a member of the Executive Board of the Union, Rabbi H. G. Enelow gave notice of his resignation to take effect upon his retirement from the Presidency.

Revision of Union Prayer Book. A communication was read from Rabbi George Zepin, Secretary of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, calling attention to a resolution adopted at the San Francisco Convention of the Union.

> Resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis be requested to appoint a Committee with which a Committee of five laymen to be appointed by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations may confer in recasting and revising the Union Prayer Book.

It was moved and adopted that this resolution be referred to our Committee on Liturgical Literature, whose Chairman shall notify the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that this Committee is ready to meet the Committee of the Union for conference on the subject of prayer book revision, at such time as may be agreed upon.

Mr. Isadore Wise. Mr. Isadore Wise, son of Isaac M. Wise, asked permission to briefly address the Convention, in order to ascertain if any of the members had any letters or other documents relating to the activities of his father, whose works he is editing. It was suggested by the President that he bring the matter to the attention of the Alumni Association of the Hebrew Union College, at the annual meeting of that organization. If this is found impossible, the courtesy of the floor shall be extended Mr. Wise. He was also given permission to go through the letter files of the Conference for any letters written by, or bearing on the work of, Isaac M. Wise.

Speakers Limited. It was moved and adopted that all readers of papers shall be limited to thirty minutes with leave to print the rest of their papers.

Mendelssohn Memorial Volume. The President reported that on account of the inability of the Committee to secure suitable material for the Mendelssohn memorial volume, the Committee in charge recommends that the project be dropped.

Mendelssohn as Exegete. A letter from Rabbi Englander offering to contribute an article on the subject of Mendelssohn as Exegete was read, but upon motion, no action was taken, as it was too late to add this paper to the program.

Publications. It was moved and adopted that the Publications Committee seek to ascertain how many books of all kinds have been published by the Conference in the last forty years, and if it is possible to make such a survey, that the result be printed in the forthcoming Year Book.

Year Book. A suggestion that all worth while articles from the Year books be republished was tabled. The Editor of the Year Book called attention to the fact that all resolutions which have been adopted by the Conference in the last forty years, will be included in the forthcoming index.

Degrees of Members. It was moved and adopted that in printing the degrees of members in the Year Book, the name of the institution granting the degree shall be added; and wherever a member fails to give the name of the institution at which he received the degree, the degree shall be omitted after his name.

Neumark Memorial Volume. It was moved and adopted that Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon be requested to notify the publisher of the Neumark

Memorial Volume that the finished books shall be sent C. O. D., and that no money be sent until the volumes are delivered.

Subventions. A subvention of $100.00 was voted to Die Wahrheit for the Defense Fund.

$100.00 to Grossen Juedische National Biographie.

To M. Rosemann for his Biography of Jellinek, $50.00 from General Fund, $50.00 from Littauer Fund.

To the American Academy for Jewish Research, no subvention.

To the Beth Jacob Home, $100.00.

To the Gessellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschcaft des Yudenthums, $250.00 out of the Littauer Fund, in addition to the $1000.00 already granted.

To the Gessellschaft zur Erforschung Judischer Kunstdenkmaeler. It was moved and adopted that we send a communication expressing regret that we cannot at this time vote a subvention.

Classics of Reform Judaism. It was moved and adopted that the Conference subscribe for five sets of Singer's Classics of Reform Judaism at $25.00 a set, to be paid for as the volumes appear, the books to be distributed to Jewish Theological Seminaries.

Harkavy Volume. The President called attention to the fact that on account of certain developments the work on the Harkavy Volume had been discontinued, but recommended that the money voted to Dr. Maggid be paid.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC E. MARCUSON,

Recording Secretary.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

Rabbi Rosenau: I received information some time ago that the Symposium would take place on Thursday afternoon. It was so printed in your official communication. On the basis of this information, I came here in order to participate tomorrow afternoon in the symposium. But if the program has been revised, I am very sorry that I will not be able to remain. I have duties which compel me to go home tomorrow afternoon. I wonder whether it would not be possible, since another one of my colleagues is compelled to leave, to allow the program to remain as it was originally drafted.

A motion that the Symposium be held on Thursday afternoon instead of Saturday afternoon was lost.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary was read by Rabbi Joseph L. Fink.

REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: I beg to submit this my third, and last, report as Corresponding Secretary of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

During the years that I have served as Corresponding Secretary I have always felt grateful for the hearty and generous assistance of all officers and members of the Conference. I tried to perform the duties of my office to the best interests of the Conference and to the best of my ability. If some of you had occasion to take umbrage at communications received from me, or failed to receive the attention to your letters that you expected, I urge upon you the wisdom of Hillel *"al todin es choverecho ad shetagiya limekomo."* Only he who has been the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference can realize its delicate duties and responsibilities, and the variety of problems and difficulties that present themselves.

In the course of the year, since the Chicago Conference, I issued 327 vouchers, making a total of $51,305.99. I have divided the vouchers into the following groups for your detailed information. You will note that I have separated the item of "Yearbook" from General Expense in order to indicate the cost of that publication.

General Expense	$ 1,723.98
Convention Expenses	992.35
Publications	9,769.30
Yearbook	3,614.37
Pension Fund	6,209.55
Subventions	1,700.00
Bonds	20,976.07
President's office	318.25
Treasurer's office	116.80
Secretary's office	444.36
Corresponding Sec'y's office	79.60
Social Justice Commission	584.98
Com. on International Peace	92.18
Com. on Revision of Hymnbook	364.15
Church and State	37.55
Com. on Source Book of Reform	77.50
Com. on Contemporaneous History	5.00
Littauer Fund	4,200.00
	$51,305.99

During the Fall of last year I sent out all committee appointments,

and was glad to note that no one refused to serve on any appointed committee.

Some weeks ago I sent out letters urging all congregations to send their Rabbis to the Conference. Most of the replies received from the congregational officers were courteous and favorable. About twelve hundred (1200) letters were sent out from my office in the course of the year for these and other causes and purposes.

It has been a great pleasure to act as Corresponding Secretary of the Conference for the past three years and to serve this Conference. I want to acknowledge my gratefulness for your uniform consideration and helpfulness.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH L. FINK,
Corresponding Secretary.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Treasurer was read by Rabbi Morris Newfield.

REPORT OF TREASURER

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: It is with much satisfaction and delight that your Treasurer submits the following annual report covering the period from June 10, 1928, to June 10, 1929.

The books of the Conference have been audited by a firm of public accountants whose official audit is part of this report.

A study of the figures reveals the following interesting facts.

The Conference had in its treasury on June 10, 1929, a total of $190,046.29. Of this amount $171,500.00 is invested in bonds, $14,038.87 in a savings account and $4,507.42 in our commercial account. A year ago our total assets were $178,225.55; hence our treasury shows a net increase of $11,820.74.

In as much as the Committee on Solicitation for this year has not reported to the Treasurer nor turned over any funds, we may anticipate an additional increase in our assets whenever this Committee will make its report.

The audit reveals that the Relief Fund has on hand $118,799.16; the General Fund $38,759.78; the Publication Fund $13,583.46, which is to be transferred and added to the General Fund; the Horace Wolf Social Justice Fund has on hand $1,200.00; and the Lucius N. Littauer Fund has a balance of $1,250.00.

Our bonds yielded $8,292.50 while on our commercial and savings bank account, we received interest amounting to $699.98 all of which according to our rules, was credited to the Relief Fund. The Relief

Fund also received $3,243.92 as an additional collection through last year's Committee on Solicitation.

One other item of interest is that the Conference received during the year $45,437.59 and spent $30,616.85.

The collection of dues from our members was gratifying. We collected a total of $1,590.00 for dues which is by far larger than any collection in previous years. The Treasurer wishes to express his appreciation to the members in making possible this gratifying report about payment of dues. Some few members, however, pay little regard to statements sent to them. I regret to report that 34 members are in arrears. Of these 6 are in arrears for four years, 8 for two years and 20 for one year. The Conference has a total membership of 317, of whom 16 were enrolled during the past year. We lost by death three members and by resignation one.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS NEWFIELD,

Treasurer.

The report was received with thanks and together with the Auditor's report, was ordered printed in the Year Book. For Auditor's report, see Appendix.

The report of the Committee on Solicitation of Funds was read by Rabbi Margolis.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOLICITATION OF FUNDS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Solicitation of Funds begs leave to report that the usual appeal for the Relief Fund was made this year. Sixty-six communities responded. Where certain individual Rabbis found it impossible, for reasons of their own, to make a personal appeal to members of their respective congregations, contributions were solicited from the treasury of the congregations and from other Temple auxiliaries. In some cases, contributions were forthcoming from the Jewish Federations of Charities.

Your Committee sent out about 22,000 form-letters designed for local use. While the records indicate that the burden each year has fallen on practically the same communities, we are happy to report that several new communities have been added to this year's list and the appeal has become more general.

Doubtless, the result would have been more gratifying if the members were not dilatory and indifferent in responding to the four letters sent them by the chairman of the Committee. The Committee feels that the appeal each year should not be made by a handful of the

members, but should become the duty of each and every one identified with the Conference.

Your Committee recommends that the year book of the Conference list the contributions according to Congregations, instead of under the general item of "collections," as was done in a few cases last year. Since the Conference resolved to omit the names of donors, this policy should be adhered to in every instance.

We are happy to report that at the present writing, the receipts total $10,423.52. This amount will be considerably increased during the next few weeks by returns from several communities in which the appeal is now being made.

The Committee takes this means to express its appreciation to the members of the Conference, who have cooperated in making this year's appeal a successful one.

Respectfully submitted,
HARRY MARGOLIS,
Chairman.

The report was received with thanks and ordered printed in the Year Book. For list of contributors see Appendix M.

The report of the Committee on Investments was read by Rabbi Newfield.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INVESTMENTS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Commitee on Investments begs leave to make the following report:

Our bond holdings were increased during the past year by $17,000, making our total investment in bonds amount to $171,000.00 face value.

Three thousand dollars of our bonds were due and redeemed. Using this and other funds, your Committee purchased a total of $20,000.00 worth of bonds as follows:

$10,000.00 City of New York, @4½%, maturing November 1, 1957.
5,000.00 Jefferson County, Alabama, @4¾%, maturing April 1, 1955 to 1958.
5,000.00 County of Mobile, Alabama, @4½%, maturing June 1, 1950.

We recommend that in view of changing economic conditions, a disinterested expert be asked to make a study of our securities with

a view to the sale of some of them in case such action be needed in the Conference's interest.

Respectfully submitted,
MORRIS NEWFIELD, *Chairman*
ISAAC E. MARCUSON,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Finance Committee was read by Rabbi Joseph L. Fink.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Finance Committee recommends the same amounts for the coming year as allowed last year. It wishes to direct the attention of the Conference to the remarkably low figure of expenses of the various officers of the Conference in conducting their affairs during the year. The Conference should be grateful for the rigid economy practiced by the various officers in carrying on the work of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,
JOSEPH L. FINK, *Chairman*
LEO M. FRANKLIN,
MORRIS NEWFIELD.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Publications was read by Rabbi Marcuson.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Publications begs leave to report that all the publications of the Conference have been given its attention and sufficient stock manufactured during the year to meet the demands of the trade. On account of the publication of the Rabbis' Manual and the volume, Judaism, the sales of which will always be small, the expenses during the year were unusually large. As the Committee on Synagog Music plans large expenditures of money during the year, it is well to call the attention of the members of the Conference to this financial condition so that caution can be exercised in making appropriations for next year.

THE UNION PRAYER BOOK

A few years ago your Committee recommended that the Fabrikoid edition of the Prayer Book selling at $1.50 a copy be discontinued, since the demand for it was so small that it hardly justified us keeping it on the market. Since that time our agents have notified us that there is a growing demand for a book priced between the cloth volume which sells at $1.00 and the leather edition which sells at $3.00 a copy. There has appeared on the market a new type of flexible covered book which is being used extensively by many publishers and which makes a neat, easily handled, light weight book which we believe will be very acceptable to the members of our congregations.

We therefore recommend that the Publications Committee be authorized to issue the Union Prayer Book, Volumes I and II
I in this binding, the book to sell at $1.50 a copy.

JUDAISM

Since our last convention, the volume on Judaism, a Manual for the Instruction of Proselytes, has appeared. Whether due to notices given to the volume by a Christian conversion society or to interest in the book itself, the book has been in good demand and many requests have come to your committee from the public libraries asking for copies of the book for reference purposes. Your committee has felt that this need should be supplied and has sent copies to all public libraries requesting the volume with the compliments of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. On account of protests received
your committee recommends that the subtitle, A Manual for
II the Instruction of Proselytes, be dropped from the title page of future editions. The title, Judaism, with perhaps some subtitle which could be added by the Executive Board, would, we believe, fill every need.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC E. MARCUSON, *Chairman*
MAX C. CUKRICK,
BARNETT A. ELZAS,
CLIFTON HARBY LEVY,
ALVIN S. LUCHS,
MORRIS NEWFIELD.

The report was received and the recommendations considered *seriatim*. Recommendation I was adopted, recommendation II was not adopted.

STOCK ON HAND

	U.P.B.I	U.P.B.II	Hymnal	Haga-dahs	Camp Service	Private Devotion	Blessing and Praise
Cloth	6625	5742	1509	7578	1905	917	1497
Fabrikoid		15					
Leather	972	36					
Sheets	2500						

	Rabbis Manual	Judaism
Cloth	290	213
Leather		

BOOKS SOLD

	Cloth	Leather	Fabrikoid	Total Sold 1891-1929
Union Prayerbook I	8249	283	483	162,336
II	11823	288	860	141,213
Hymnal	5077			91,799
Haggadahs	2730	12		48,626
House of Mourning	826			5,000
Private Devotion	16			3,000
Camp Service	460			3,000
Blessing and Praise	56	22		20,000
Yearbook	11			30,000
Ministers Handbook				500
Rabbis Manual	242	132		1,500
Judaism	210			1,000
				507,874

The report of the Tract Commission was read by Rabbi Franklin.

REPORT OF TRACT COMMISSION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Conceiving its purpose to be the publication and distribution of pamphlets on various aspects of Jewish religion and Jewish history, the Tract Commission has been steadily at work on this project and is pleased to report a year of progress.

Three new tracts have been printed and distributed since the last meeting of the Conference, as follows:

1. "The Jewish Prayerbook," by Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof.
2. "Judaism and Democracy," by Rabbi Louis Witt.
3. "Jewish Philanthropic Institutions in the Middle Ages," by Rabbi Abraham Cronbach.

We have also reprinted three of the earlier tracts "The Jew in America," by Rabbi David Philipson; "Jew and non-Jew," by the late Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, and "The Universal Lord," by Rabbi Maurice H. Harris. We now have in our new format all of the 12 tracts thus far published by the Commission, with the single exception of Tract No. 4 on "Jewish Ethics," by Rabbi Samuel Schulman. When our present stock of this tract is exhausted we shall reprint it in the new format.

NEW TRACTS

Two new tracts have been accepted by the Editorial Committee of the Commission and will be printed shortly. "Judaism and Socialism," by Rabbi Jacob Tarshish, will be distributed in July, and "Post-Biblical Judaism—Its Spiritual Note," by Rabbi Israel Bettan, will be distributed in October of this year.

TRACTS IN YIDDISH

The Commission held one meeting at Cincinnati, on Oct. 9, 1928. It considered two proposals transmitted by the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. One proposal dealt with the publication of two tracts in Yiddish on "What is Reform Judaism" and "The History of Reform Judaism." These informational pamphlets were intended for distribution in Eastern Europe. The Commission voted that the publication of these pamphlets be undertaken by European Jewry, and that the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Department of Synagog and School Extension be requested to appropriate the sum of $250.00 each for this purpose. The second proposal dealt with the publication of a tract on "Judaism and Mental Healing," upon which the Commission acted favorably.

NOTABLE SERMONS

The Commission decided to print a series of notable sermons by rabbis who were influential in the progress of Judaism. These sermons are to be published at the rate of one a year in an edition of 5,000, and are to be distributed among our co-religionists.

TRACT RACKS

Your Commission has entered into cooperation with the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods for the purpose of securing a wider distribution of our tracts among the members of our liberal congregations. The Federation of Sisterhoods is urging its constituent societies to place a rack in the vestibule of each Temple. The rack has compartments for tracts and other pamphlets. The Commission voted to make an initial contribution of twenty-five copies of each of its tracts to the congregations that would install racks. Additional copies of the tracts are to be supplied at cost, at one or two cents a copy,

depending upon the size of the tract. Thus far seven congregations have availed themselves of this privilege.

SERMON PAMPHLET

The Commission published and the Department of Synagog and School Extension distributed the annual sermon pamphlet for the use of the small Jewish communities. The following rabbis to whom the thanks of the Commission are herewith extended, contributed sermons to the last pamphlet:

Max Raisin, Lee J. Levinger, Joseph Stolz, Harry Weiss, Louis J. Kopald, Louis L. Mann, David Alexander, Irving Frederick Reichert, Hyman A. Iola, Beryl D. Cohon, Jacob B. Krohngold, Louis A. Mischkind and Joseph L. Fink.

HOLIDAY PRESS NOTICES

Our press notices describing the holidays are extensively used by the secular press as well as the Anglo-Jewish weeklies. The notices are also sent to the rabbis, and a special list of Sisterhoods, etc. It is interesting to note that the Norwich Evening Record of Norwich, Conn., printed our notice of Passover as a leader on its editorial page, and subsequently made favorable comment of this activity of ours.

In conclusion I wish to say that the small group of men constituting the Tract Commission have been giving devoted service to its educational activities. The series of tracts that it has outlined constitutes a program of publication for a number of years. When we will have issued twenty-five or thirty pamphlets, we will be in a better position to enlarge upon our field of activities and give consideration to a number of other projects that have come to our attention.

The Tract Commission feels greatly indebted to the Board of Managers of the Department of Synagog and School Extension without whose assistance the work of the Commission would be impossible of accomplishment. And to the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis our thanks are likewise extended for their cordial cooperation.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO M. FRANKLIN,
MILTON M. ALEXANDER,
LOUIS I. EGELSON,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
ISRAEL BETTAN,
SAMUEL HIRSCHBERG.

The report was received and ordered printed in the Year Book.

The report of the Committee on Church and State was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CHURCH AND STATE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Church and State begs leave to report: While it cannot be said that conditions today in the field under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Church and State present an alarming aspect, nonetheless there are disturbing elements. There has been some agitation for the passage of sectarian legislation, but the volume of actual legislative enactment has been negligible. There continues a persistent effort on the part of certain protestant denominations to compel the official recognition of sectarian religion. The religious antagonisms that were aroused during the presidential campaign of last fall have not altogether subsided and there is evidence that there is considerable religious feeling still prevalent, and its repercussions are felt in Jewish circles.

The usual questionnaire was sent to the members of the committee representing the several states of the Union, and of the *26 replies received, 19 reported no special agitation. Of the remaining six, four reported measures actually introduced into the legislature but happily defeated either on the floor or in committee. In Wisconsin Rabbi Landman reported a Bible reading bill was defeated; likewise in Ohio under the direction of Rabbi Tarshish greatly assisted by Rabbi Kornfeld who went to Columbus at the request of the Chairman of your Committee.

In Michigan the contest was very warm, and the vote close. The attorney general of the State had rendered an opinion declaring the bill, as amended, in conformity with the constitution. But under the leadership of Rabbi Fram, assisted by his orthodox colleagues, the bill was defeated. At the request of Rabbi Fram your Chairman sent copies of the Conference pamphlet, "Why the Bible Should Not Be Read in the Public Schools," to the members of the Legislature, and it was very helpful in bringing about the result. In Tennessee an agitation was begun by the Ministers' Alliance for the memorization of Bible passages by children of public schools. This movement was defeated through the efforts of Rabbi Julius Mark and Mr. Fletcher Cohen. In West Virginia two Bible-reading bills introduced into the legislature were defeated. In Connecticut a movement for Bible instruction within school hours was prevented by the efforts of Rabbi Tedesche.

While this record appears to be a favorable one, yet it must be remembered that in a large majority if not almost all of the states of

the union the reading of the Bible in public schools is a constant practice despite protests, and whether with or without legislative sanction. There is but one comment to make and that is that we must continue fighting for our rights even though we face inevitable defeat. It is better for us to go down in defeat with colors flying than not to raise them at all.

There are several new items that command our attention this year and which testify to the existence of this religious feeling which has been mentioned in a previous paragraph.

In the state of Georgia in April, 1929, the Jury Commissioners of Bryan County took the most unusual action of excluding all Jews from jury panels, including both petit and grand jury service. The Jews instituted a suit, when the resolution became known, on the ground that the Commissioners acted with "hatred, malice and religgious prejudice." They lost their suit in the County Superior Court, carried it to the Supreme Court of the State, which reversed the decision of the county court, branded the action of the Commissioners as "malicious and prejudicial," and declared the constitutional rights of Jews as citizens to serve on jury panels.

There is also an instance of attempt at legislation against "Shechita." A bill was introduced into and adopted by both houses of the legislature of Connecticut which would prohibit the practice of shechita in the state of Connecticut. Happily so much opposition developed that the bill was recalled before it received the Governor's signature.

A movement that may perhaps be considered as within the scope of the Committee on Religious Activities in Universities, but that nevertheless commands the attention of this Committee, because it has to do with religious instruction in tax supported schools, is the "School of Religion" at the University of Iowa. The aims of this school, according to Dean George F. Kay, of the University of Iowa, are

> "1. The providing of courses that will help students gain a wholesome view of religion and increase their interest and efficiency in religious activities.
> 2. The providing of graduate courses and advanced degrees for those desiring to qualify for the highest leadership.
> 3. The creating of an expectancy for men and women to choose religious callings and to begin their preparation for such work.
> 4. Assisting the churches and synagogs of Iowa in their approach to their own students by making it possible for Catholics, the Jews and the Protestants to maintain professorships at the University.
> 5. Combining the scholarly ideals of the university and the re-

ligious ideals of the church so as to produce an atmosphere conducive to intelligent faith."

The professors of the school are representatives of Catholics, Protestants and Jews, and are members of the University faculty. Dr. M. H. Farbridge is the Jewish professor.

The question as to how far tax supported schools or state universities can go in the teaching of religion is answered technically by the fact that the professors of the School of Religion are not paid by the state but by the several religions which they represent. Prof. Farbridge's salary is paid by the Jews of the State of Iowa. The support of the school does not come from the state but from the denominations represented. Intellectually and spiritually speaking this question is answered by the fact that the school having been in operation for two years as an experiment in religious cooperation, has been thus far successful.

A program thus outlined it appears to your Committee is not only an unusual experiment but one that is to be watched with sympathetic interest. While we continue to do everything within our power to safeguard the principle of separation of Church and State we should also encourage interest in religious instruction where it is given without sectarian advantage, and where this principle of the separation of Church and State is conserved as it is in the present instance.

Dr. M. Willard Lampe, Director of the School, says that it came as the result of the recognition "that one of the greatest needs in America today is to supplement state education with adequate religious inspiration, instruction and practice, and to do this in some way satisfactory to all religious interests."

This is an aim which the Conference can well commend.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD N. CALISCH, *Chairman*
SOL FOSTER,
LOUIS NEWMAN,
JOS. RAUCH.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONNAIRE

ALA.—Nothing to report.

ARK.— Anti-evolution bill adopted by referendum in presidential election-voting.

CALIF.—Nothing to report.

COLO.—No agitation.

CONN.—Movement for Bible instruction within school hours defeated by Rabbi Tedesche.

DELAWARE—No agitation.

D. C.—No agitation.
FLA.—Nothing to report.
IOWA.—Nothing to report.
IND.—Nothing to report.
KY.—Nothing to report.
LA.—No agitation.
MD.—Nothing to report.
MASS.—No agitation.
MICH.—Bill to permit Bible reading defeated by efforts of Rabbis Fram and Waterman.
MINN.—Nothing to report.
N. C.—No agitation.
ORE.—Nothing to report.
OHIO.—Bill to permit Bible reading defeated through efforts of Rabbis Kornfeld and Tarshish.
OKLA.—Nothing to report.
R. I.—Nothing to report.
TENN.—Agitation by Ministers Alliance for memorization of Bible passages by children of public schools. Bill defeated by efforts of Rabbi Julius Mark and Mr. Fletcher Cohen.
TEXAS.—No agitation.
VA.—No legislative session.
WISC.—Bible bill defeated.
W. VA.—Two bills, one for uncommented, the other for interpreted readings of Bible in public schools, introduced in legislature, both perished in the Committee.

SUMMARY

Twenty-six States reporting, nineteen reporting no agitation.

In three states bills actually before legislative bodies defeated. In two states movements defeated before reaching the floor of the legislature. In two states so-called anti-evolution bills were considered. In Arkansas it was passed by referendum at the presidential election in November. In Texas it was defeated in the legislature.

In Canada the schools are strictly denominational, divided between Protestants and Catholics. The Jews being granted the privilege either to enter one of the schools of their choice or to provide their own schools. The regulations provide for the daily reading of the Bible in public schools for which a so-called interdenominational reader is provided. During the past year a new reader was prepared. Rabbi Isserman requested to be permitted to sit on the committee representing the different denominations that was to prepare the reader. He was not permitted to sit on the committee but he was permitted to pass

upon the manuscript. While they did not entertain his objection to the sectarian character of the passages, they did accept several corrections of unhappy phrases which he suggested.

The report was received and the recommendations considered *seriatim*. The report was adopted as amended.

The report of the Conference representatives on the Synagog Council of America was read by the Scretary.

REPORT OF REPRESENTATIVES ON SYNAGOG COUNCIL OF AMERICA

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Three meetings of the Synagog Council of America were held during the past year, November 13th, March 12th and May 7th. Dr. Samuel Schulman, Rabbi Solomon Foster as regular delegates, and Dr. Nathan Stern as alternate, attended all meetings. Incidentally, the records show that the delegates of the Conference have been more regular and prompt in their attendance at meetings than any other group affiliated with the Synagog Council since its organization.

There were three important matters with which the Council had to deal.

A. Proselytism in New York City.

An exhaustive report prepared by a special committee formed the basis of discussion for several meetings, as a result of which the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That the situation be envisaged by the Synagog Council entirely as a Jewish problem and as a Jewish responsibility, so it refrain from protesting to Christian bodies, but address itself to the necessity of counteracting the Christianizing influences by Jewish efforts.

2. That the Synagog Council, whose essential purpose and functions is the preservation and furtherance of Judaism:

a) bring these conditions to the attention of the Jewish communities,

b) point out that Jewish souls have been and are being neglected by the Jewish community and are therefore being forfeited to Christian influences,

c) put itself in contact with existing Jewish institutions, social and educational agencies, and prominent men and women in the communities which are most affected by the missionary activities, and urge upon them the duty not only of providing religious education, but

doing it in such a way as to make it inviting and attractive, regarding Jewish education not in the limited sense of formal instruction, but in the broader sense of making Jewish life and Jewish religious values appealing and stimulating, and supplementing formal instruction by a broad social and recreational program.

3. That the Synagog Council, in connection with its approach to Jewish communities, issue a public statement, putting the matter in a way that should appeal to the imagination of the Jewish people, and should stir them up to the sense of their responsibility.

B. The question of Calendar Reform which the Synagog Council had under consideration for some time was crystalized in the following resolution:

"The Synagog Council of America, speaking in the name of millions of Jews in the United States, orthodox, conservative and reform alike, makes solemn affirmation of the abiding sanctity of the seventh day Sabbath. Judaism has never substituted, and can not substitute, another day for the divinely sanctioned Sabbath of the Ten Commandments and of numerous other passages in the Bible.

"The observance of the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath is the cardinal religious observance of Jewish life. It has been held sacred by every generation of Jews throughout their centuried story, even at the price of martyrdom in less tolerant eras than our own. It may not and can not be transferred to any other day of the astronomical week, even though that day might conveniently be called Saturday, without destroying its essential spirit. The Sabbath must be observed on the true Sabbath day of history.

"A reform of the calendar which would cause the Jewish Sabbath, now identified with Saturday, to occur on a different day of the week in successive years, would create for Jewry a religious and socio-economic problem of such insuperable difficulties as in effect to condemn the historic Sabbath to destruction. Therefore the Jews of the United States comprised in their representative organization, the Synagog Council of America, are unitedly opposed to the local or international adoption of any system of reform of the calendar which would alter or interfere with the regular periodicity of the seven day week through the insertion of a blank day in the year. Only such correction or reform of the calendar is acceptable to the Jews of the United States as would never disturb the recurrence of the seventh day Sabbath on that astronomical day which from time immemorial has been recognized and sanctified as the seventh day of the week."

C. The Unity of Israel was voiced in the stand taken by the Synagog Council anent the Wailing Wall incident last year:

"The Synagog Council of America, an organization in which are represented officially all religious elements in Jewry, voicing the religious conscience of the millions of Jews of the United States of America, profoundly deplores the interference with Jewish worship which took place at the *Kothel Masravi* (The Western Wall) popularly known as the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem on the Day of Atonement.

"Relying on the spirit of brotherhood and reverence for sacred things common to all religions, the Synagog Council herewith expresses its firm hope that Jewish worship at the Wall, a tradition of centuries, be respected in the future and that there shall never be a recurrence of such a painful offence to the religious feelings of the Jews in Palestine and of the whole world."

The occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Dr. H. Periera Mendes, the Fortieth Anniversary of Dr. David Philipson and the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Dr. Abram Simon in the service of their respective congregations were especially marked during the past year by the Synagog Council by appropriate resolutions and congratulations in the name of American Israel in whose behalf those worthy leaders in Israel have labored unselfishly and successfully.

The same friendly relationship among the members, the same serious purpose of the group, the same statesmanlike consideration of all problems, with which the organization began its career, continue to inform and inspire the delegates in their conduct of the business of the Synagog Council. It is fulfilling the hopes expressed in its behalf when all prayed that it might grow from strength to strength.

Respectfully submitted,

SOLOMON FOSTER.

The report was received and ordered printed in the Year Book.

A request was received that the Central Conference of American Rabbis join the League to Safeguard the Fixity of the Sabbath. Upon motion the request was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Rabbi Frisch: I rise to discuss the paragraph which has to do with the calendar changes. I am not an authority on the Calendar, and have not studied the question of the effects the proposed changes in the calendar will have on the Sabbath. I am speaking with the greatest sympathy for our Orthodox brethren. I think there is entirely too much magnification of the importance of this issue. I think it mis-

represents us to the world. If the world is going to be benefited by the change of the calendar as proposed, then we Jewish people of the Reform wing at least ought not to stand in the way.

I am speaking with due reverence as to what a divinely ordained Sabbath means to me; it means that the human mind and human society thought out under Divine inspiration, a day of rest. The mathematics and the calendar of it does not mean so much to me, and I do not think they mean much to my colleagues. As to the wanderingness of the Sabbath, it may have wandered before, for all I know; I think it did in the process of calendar changes. We are interested in a great institution and idea, and not in its geography or in its time location; and I do not think we would suffer any serious consequences if once a year the Sabbath was an Elijah—a wanderer.

Let me analyze the position that we are taking before the world by falling so heartily in with the recommendations of the Synagog Council. It is as if the Jewish people, and we claim to be an enlightened wing of it, were setting their interests—and the interests in this case appear to be trivial in significance—against the interests of all Society. I doubt whether we ought to take that position. I object to some of the wording of the report besides. I think that our Committee on Synagog Council ought not to have entered into an agreement on that proposition; they simply should have permitted our Orthodox brethren to agitate for their point of view. I think we ought to dissociate ourselves from that attitude and action.

Rabbi Philipson: I think that Rabbi Frisch does not quite understand the nature of the report. The report of our representatives on the Synagog Council simply informs us of what the Synagog Council did. If the majority agree with Rabbi Frisch, the course to be pursued is to inform Rabbi Foster and his fellow delegates that this body is not in agreement with the attitude taken by the Synagog Council

in the matter of reforming the calendar and instructs them to reopen the subject at the next meeting of the Synagog Council.

Rabbi Freehof: This calendar proposes to use up three hundred and sixty-four days of the year, dividing the year into thirteen months of four weeks each, each month beginning with a Sunday, so that each date of each month shall come on the same day of the week for all the future. That requires disposing of the three-hundred-and-sixty-fifth day. This is done as follows: The 365th day, at the end of the year, is called Year Day, and is not counted as part of any month or any week. Thus the next year begins with a day which is *called* Sunday. If Year Day (the 365th) had not been omitted from the preceding week, this first day of the year would be properly called Monday. And the year following will begin again on a day *called* Sunday when that day is actually Tuesday. Not only Jews, but all Christians like the Adventists and the Baptists also object to this change because all who observe every Sabbath day will be forced to work or attend school on the Sabbath.

Now, it is possible to have a thirteen month calendar, with a four-week month, with all the benefits of the recently suggested calendar, and yet at the same time not lose that day at the end of the year. It has already been subgested by some of the writers on the subject, that if that Year Day, be saved up for seven years, and then an extra *week* be added every seventh year, then neither the Sunday nor the Saturday will ever be disturbed. In this way, we will have the benefit of the new calendar and not run counter to the religious beliefs of both Jews and pious Christians.

In other words, the Synagog Council of America demands that in discussing calendar reform, due consideration be given to the religious conscience of both Jews and Christians. That demand is eminently reasonable.

Rabbi Simon: I think the Conference should understand

that this question of the revision of the Calendar received the unanimous vote of the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform groups represented in the Synagog Council as every pronouncement of the Council must before it becomes the expression of United Israel. It was considered at several meetings and not lightly. We had the advice of experts, Jewish and Christian. We, ourselves, were present at the hearings of the House on this question. We listened to the statements made by the representatives of certain financial interests and we were convinced that all the benefits which would result to the world were not in any way comparable to the disadvantages which would result and affect not only Jew, but Christian as well. We, of the Reform wing, felt that whatever might be our attitude in regard to the sanctity of the Sabbath, the question of a United Israel was, from a moral and religious point of view, infinitely more valuable than any other consideration. There are before the League of Nations at least one hundred and twenty-five programs for the revision of the calendar; only one of these programs was proposed at this meeting and only one has received the special approval of a group of business men. At this special hearing, Congressman Bloom, who is giving the subject his most devoted attention and consideration, together with Dr. Hyamson and others had two or three suggestions to offer which would obviate the difficulties which the proposed plan presented. None of us objected to the calling of an international conference; none of us objected to a revision of the calendar; all of us objected to the so-called blank year day which would introduce confusion into Jewish life. If I have sensed the sentiment of this Conference during these last thirty-five years, whatever may be the attitude of individuals in regard to holding additional services on Sunday, I believe the conscience of this Conference is pledged for the sanctity of the Sabbath.

The report of the Committee on Cooperation with International and National Organizations was read by Rabbi H. G. Enelow.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: As Chairman of the Committee on Cooperation with International and National Organizations, I beg to report as follows:

During the year nothing arose requiring action by the Committee as a whole. Partly that is due to the fact that we have several special committees collaborating with various other organizations, and to such committees I referred such pertinent matters as came up.

I

There are two organizations, however, about our cooperation with which I desire to report.

First, the World Union for Progressive Judaism. At the meeting held in Berlin last August, the Central Conference of American Rabbis was represented by the delegates appointed before the last Convention. Quite a few of our members took part in the program, and I had the honor, as your representative, to present a report on recent Progress of Reform Judaism in America. The proceedings of the meeting are to be published shortly, I understand, and copies will be circulated among the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

During the year I had considerable correspondence with the Honorary Secretary of the World Union for Progressive Judaism on matters of common interest, and I tried to offer the assistance of the Conference wherever possible.

On May 13th, 1929, I issued an inquiry to the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis as to who was planning to go to Europe this summer, and would accept invitations to preach from European pulpits. I received six replies, and the data were forwarded by me promptly to Miss Montagu. I earnestly hope that it may prove possible for some of our members to arrange to preach in Europe during the summer, as I think it would mean a valuable service to the cause of Reform Judaism. Perhaps this practice might even be extended in the future. But in order to do so, arrangements would have to be started earlier in the season, and I beg to recommend that the new Executive Board be requested to consider the feasibility of such a plan.

A Bulletin is to be published shortly by the office of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, and I am sure the members of the

Central Conference of American Rabbis will be glad to receive and read it. There is a great deal of interest in the World Union for Progressive Judaism in various countries, and it bids fair to prove an effective instrument for the advancement of the cause to which it is devoted.

At the invitation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the World Union is considering the question of holding its 1930 meeting in this country. At the present moment, no decision has been reached. But we hope that it may prove possible to hold the next meeting here, and in that case, I am sure, the Central Conference of American Rabbis would do all in its power towards its success.

II

The second matter on which I wish to report is on the relation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to the Boy Scouts of America and the Jewish Committee on Scouting.

At our last Convention, the Central Conference of American Rabbis passed a resolution in opposition to what was regarded as a sectarian tendency in the Boy Scouts of America. Subsequently, our Executive Board passed a resolution protesting against the use of the name of the Central Conference of American Rabbis by the Jewish Committee on Boy Scouting. On these actions I received communications from Dr. Cyrus Adler, Chairman of the Jewish Committee on Boy Scouting, and from Mr. James E. West, Chief Scout Executive of the Boy Scouts of America. Both gentlemen sought to explain that our actions were based on misunderstanding, and expressed the hope that, in the light of the explanations they offered, the Central Conference of American Rabbis would see fit to reconsider its attitude.

Also, I received a communication on the subject from Rabbi Philip D. Bookstaber, referring to a resolution which he, together with two members of the National Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts of America, had submitted to the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America.

In order to bring this matter before our Convention for proper discussion, I should like to recommend that a committee be appointed to study the several communications to which I have referred, and to report its conclusions to this Convention for such action as it may see fit to propose.

Respectfully submitted,
H. G. Enelow,
Chairman.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Good Will was read by Rabbi Abram Simon.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GOOD WILL

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The report of the Committee this year consists of a resolution unanimously adopted by the Joint Committees on Good Will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ and our Conference at a special meeting held in the City of New York on June 6, 1929.

"Recognizing that the Joint Conference on Good Will between Jews and Christians as at present constituted lacks the authority to formulate or to inaugurate any independent program of action, it is considered desirable to change the existing arrangement between the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

In changing the present Joint Conference on Good Will between Jews and Christians, the members of the Committee unequivocally endorse the growing spirit of good will and pledge themselves as individuals sincerely to further every worthy effort to crush misunderstanding and to promote the friendliest relationships among the different religious groups in our country.

We recommend that the Governing Bodies of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America take under consideration some other form of conference and cooperation."

Your Committee, therefore, recommends the adoption of this Joint Resolution; and furthermore, recommends that hereafter all conferences on Good Will between Jews and Christians, whether on our initiative or that of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, or that of any other creditable organization, come within the province of our Committee on Cooperation with International and National Organizations.

Respectfully submitted,

ABRAM SIMON, *Chairman*
DAVID PHILIPSON,
SOLOMON FOSTER,
ABBA H. SILVER,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on International Peace was read by Rabbi Currick.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: It is a happy circumstance that our committee report, like that of last year, is made at a time of good augury for the cause of human peace and happiness. Last year we anticipated the ratification of the Kellog Peace Treaty which has now become for practically the entire civilized world the official expression of a world intention to proceed toward international "cooperative fellowship, studying the arts and ways of peace, gaining sense of security not by arms but by absence of arms," to use Ramsay McDonald's language. This year we are met shortly after the historic meeting of our new Ambassador to Great Britain with the new British Prime Minister, a meeting which explicity demonstrates the intention of the Kellogg treaty, as Ambassador Dawes has put it "not a mere gesture but the foundation of an era of peace on earth and good will toward men." This encouraging incident is mentioned first in our report because it bears so much on what follows. There has been the tendency on the part of some to dismiss the Kellogg treaty for the outlawry of war as a platonic gesture. They have had some corroboration of their cynicism in the notorious Anglo-French naval treaty and our own big navy bill. Both of these measures, however, met with the overwhelming disapproval of the nationals of the countries involved largely because they considered the pact as being more than a pretty gesture. It is true that the cruiser bill was passed by Congress but President Hoover, it is reported, has halted construction pending negotiations with Great Britain. It is anticipated that these negotiations will lead to a naval reduction agreement at the Geneva Conference. Events are thus pointing at last in the right direction. The groping for methods to make outlawry effective is now disclosing the beginning of the new way. We have not only the right to hope for a peace based not on the now thoroughly exploded theory of the special war guilt of Germany, but on justice, economic intelligence and the sincere desire for reconciliation but also the duty to find our own way toward effective help in realizing the desire and intention of the world to achieve it. This is no longer a dream but it is slowly emerging into the world of reality. European press comments after the signing of the pact formed a chorus of praise and hope. The statesmen at the assembly of the League of Nations took immediate notice of the pact and saw in it the prelude to disarmament. The nations have not, it is true, in a wave of emotion, incontinently scrapped their armaments and the

tripartite naval conference failed, but none the less and in spite of the many causes of international friction inherent in the Versailles treaty, the spirit of international relations seems to be changing. Statesmen now admit the bankruptcy of the old systems and are seeking for a practical method to make effective the civilized world's determination to abolish war. In many parts of the world, from Europe to Australia, last Armistice Day was practically a disarmament day while Good Will Day aroused world-wide enthusiasm through the exchange of gifts and fraternal messages by the young people of many countries. During the past year there have been vigorous expressions of international friendship and of the demand for disarmament from so many international conferences and conventions that to mention even the most important would extend this report beyond its reasonable length.

Encouraging also have been the clear and urgent declarations of principle and policy coming from religious sources. We call to your attention those of the Commission on International Implications of Religion and of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The latter also appropriated a generous budget for the work of a mixed commission, of ministers and laymen, on peace and world fellowship. These are but illustrations of the clarity and courage with which religious bodies are declaring themselves.

As a cooperating organization of the National Council for Prevention of War, the Central Conference of American Rabbis is entitled to send one delegate to the Second Annual Meeting of the National Council which is to be held in the city of Washington, October 29-30-31. As the National Council is the most vigorous peace organization in the United States and as its conferences are always of the most importance, your committee recommends that we send a delegate. Our delegate last year was Rabbi A. Simon. The Conference also has the privilege of sending five representatives to the conference, who may attend all meetings and vote on all questions except those which are on strictly Council business. The National Council invites the Conference to avail itself of the privilege of sending representatives.

Our survey would not be complete without grateful reference to the splendid leadership in the movement toward disarmament and peace of President Hoover. His South American pre-inaugural tour laid the foundations of a better understanding and friendly cooperation between us and our American neighbors. In spite of the unfortunate effect of the citation of "adequate preparation for defense" his speech of acceptance was notable for its sincere espousal of the cause of peace. In his inaugural he advocated our entrance into the World Court.

In his Memorial Day address he declared that the reduction of armaments was the next logical step after the Kellogg treaty. His words were: "We believe the time has come when we must know whether the pact we have signed is real; whether we are condemned to further and more extensive programs of naval construction. Limitation upward is not now our goal, but actual reduction of existing commitments to lowered levels." That these were not merely pious hopes of the president was evident from the forth-right demand for reduction of navies made by our delegate to the preparatory commission, Mr. Hugh Gibson. This was done doubtless under the instruction of President Hoover. We must regret that Mr. Gibson seemed to consider the question of armies exclusively European, that he took the position of Great Britain in omitting the French reserves from the account of military forces.

Our country was officially thanked for its friendly service in helping to bring about a settlement of the long standing Tacna-Arica dispute between Chile and Peru, and it also was influential in preventing a break between Bolivia and Paraguay in their quarrel over the Chaco territory. In America this leaves to be mentioned Mexico, where our friendly relations continue and internal peace seems promising since the rapproachment of the government and the officials of the Catholic Church; Nicaragua, where our Marines unfortunately still remain, the Philippines, where our friendly relations are menaced by the proposed tariff on sugar, and the West Indies, where conditions are practically unchanged, though in some instances still unsatisfactory. On the credit side is the ratification without reservation of the multilateral treaty for compulsory arbitration and conciliation in the Western Hemisphere. There are a few more items on the credit side of our international relations: our recognition of the Chinese National regime and our support of its demand for control of its own foreign economic policy, such as customs and tariffs; our participation in the recent Reparations Commission, though unofficial, was of critical importance. It was President Hoover's initiative in extending the time of the German payments over a longer period which enabled our American delegates to find the eventual basis of agreement. The troublesome question of German payments is thus temporarily out of the way although it must still run the gauntlet of European criticism. It is with considerable pride that we are able to record the substantial services rendered the reparations commission by our American co-religionist, David Sarnoff, as reported in the newspapers, and while we have no official verification of the facts, we are assuming they are correct. We, therefore, congratulate him on his distinguished service in helping so considerably to break an

impasse which threatened the meeting with complete failure. Concomitant with our helpfulness in the reparations conference have gone our negotiations towards our entrance into the World Court. These were initiated under Secretary of State Kellogg. Elihu Root's proposals appear to have cleared the way for the United States by a formula under which the League of Nations may seek advisory opinions from the Court without restriction while the United States may quit the Court if it finds the exercise of that right objectionable in any instance. The formula is simple and easily understandable and it is generally agreed that it will work well. President Hoover has indicated his approval of it and it now remains for the United States to ratify it.

II We recommend that the Conference send greetings to President Hoover and our thanks for his stimulating and instructive utterances on world friendship and for his effective measures looking toward our entrance into the World Court and for the reduction of armaments.

III We also recommend that the Conference, and its members individually, urge the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, and their own respective senators, to ratify the agreement for our entrance into the World Court.

IV We recommend that the Conference transmit to Mr. Owen D. Young and Mr. Sarnoff an expression of our appreciation of their service to humanity.

In the meanwhile we have the Capper Senate bill for the prevention of the export of arms and munitions of war to any country that has violated the multilateral treaty and the Porter House bill for the prevention or control of such exports to any country for domestic or other warfare. We favor these bills and urge our members to support them or such other bills as may develop from them and the Burton, Korell, Porter and Fish resolutions.

Two items are on the wrong side of the peace ledger. One is the use by the Post Office Department of the cancellation stamp "Let's Go—Citizen's Military Training Camp." To the many objections that have poured into the department the answer has been that the use of the stamp was mandatory because Congress had made an appropriation for the camps. We need not discuss so disingenuous an excuse. The incident has, however, given impetus to the effort of the World Peace Postage Stamp Association, P. O. Box 512, St. Paul,, Minn. This association, having been informed that a postage stamp commemorating the Kellogg peace pact cannot be issued because of the

expense, is now advocating the use by the government of a peace cancellation stamp worded somewhat as follows: "Pax per legen—Peace by law," or "The Peace Pact is Signed and Ratified"—"If you want Peace, prepare for Peace." Those of us who realize the effect of propaganda cancellation stamps at home, and more especially abroad, will favor some such stamp. We recommend that the Conference request the Government to use some form of a Peace Cancellation Stamp instead of the Citizen's Training Camp Stamp.

The second is the denial of citizenship to Rosika Schwimmer and Prof. D. MacIntosh because of their refusal to participate in a war which might be waged by the United States. While under no law or rule, including even the proposed "universal draft" law, would Mrs. Schwimmer, and possibly Prof. MacIntosh, be required to serve in war, they were still denied their papers because the Supreme Court, reversing the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Mrs. Schwimmer's case, held that her influence as a citizen would be against the interests of our country in wartime. The incident afforded those two sturdy liberals of the Supreme Court, Justices Holmes and Brandeis the opportunity to formulate a minority decision which will remain an epoch making document of liberalism. On June 24th, Prof. Douglas C. MacIntosh, Dwight Professor of theology in Yale Divinity School, was also denied American citizenship by a Federal judge because he would not promise to defend the United States against all enemies.

Complying with the resolution adopted at the last Conference your committee initiated negotiations with the Commission on International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, The National Catholic Welfare Council and the United Synagog of America. The correspondence with the Commission of the Federal Council was followed by an interview with Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, its chairman. Dr. Gulick has assured your chairman that the Commission on International Justice and Good Will is glad to cooperate with the Conference in any way that offers itself. He suggested that we might even have a part in the Commission by taking an associate membership in it. Such memberships are held by several organizations which do not belong to the Federal Council. It was agreed that we should cooperate in the celebration of Armistice Day and Good Will Day, in educational work and memoranda to the President and Congress on the United States entering the World Court, reduction of armaments and other matters on which we agree. The Commission is willing to furnish the Conference literature with our own imprint, if we so desire.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends, that in the work of promoting International Peace and Good Will, the Central Con-
V ference of American Rabbis, without taking a membership in the Commission on International Justice and Good Will, cooperate with it in the manner indicated above.

The correspondence with the National Catholic Welfare Council was not satisfactory and Dr. A. Simon interviewed Dr. John A. Ryan, of the Council. Father Ryan has suggested that a way may later be found through the House of Bishops, but that it is beyond the province of the Council itself.

Your chairman wrote only recently to Dr. Chas. I. Hoffman, Secretary of the United Synagog, inviting the committee of the United Synagog to cooperate with our committee. Dr. Hoffman assures your committee that the United Synagog will gladly cooperate with us in any effort for the promotion of peace. Your committee believes that with the important developments of the coming year, it is all the more important to pursue the policy of inviting cooperation between all religious bodies, and, therefore, is reporting progress and recommends that a further effort be made in that direction and that the initial effort be one to form a Central Peace Commission of National Jewish Religious Organizations.

Your committee realizes that its most effective work must be done in the congregations under the leadership of the members of the Conference. The rabbi in his efforts for peace and good will must have back of him the enlightened opinion of his community. This can be had through systematic educational efforts with his members, the sisterhoods, the clubs and also the children of the religious school. To that end the Conference ought to aid the rabbi by sending him occasional printed matter. We have distributed some printed matter of other organizations but none of our own. Your committee, there-
fore, recommends that a budget allowance for the Committee
VI on International Peace for the ensuing year be made, such an appropriation not to exceed $200.00. The appropriation is to be used for occasional bulletins to the members, an outline for study or discussion in the religious school and other helpful measures. In this connection, Rabbi Heller, of your committee, has informed us that the Sisterhoods desire a peace manual for the use of children and suggest that the Conference write it. The Sisterhoods will undertake to
publish it. Your committee approves of this suggestion and
VII recommends that the representatives of the Conference discuss the matter with the representatives of the Sisterhoods and report the results to the Executive Board. It further recommends the Executive Board be instructed to authorize the writing of such a

manual, if it be found that the proposal of the Sisterhoods has been correctly understood.

Your committee further recommends that it be empowered to print a leaflet or syllabus of suggestion to our members for the celebration of Armistice Day and Good Will Day, Memorial Day; a Bibliography for the use of congregational committees on International Peace; that our congregations be requested to provide a Peace Workers' shelf in their respective libraries.

The committee will be glad to furnish the members with a book list on request. In work for our schools and Jewish children it is suggested that we seek the cooperation of the periodical, Young Israel.

Your committee's activity during the past year was limited to urging ratification of the Kellogg Pact, the Gillett resolution for resumption of negotiations for the entrance of the United States into the World Court, and the Pan-American treaties for arbitration and conciliation; opposing the big navy bill and the cruiser bill. It is pleasant to observe that the Pact has been ratified, the big navy bill killed and that there is good prospect of the Root formulation being accepted by the United States Senate. The Cruiser Bill has been passed but construction has been delayed by President Hoover. The year passed has been one of vast improvement in the International situation and the year ahead promises even more. The members of the Conference are, therefore, again urged to labor for our entrance into the World Court and the League of Nations; to keep before their members and the public they address that while these measures are important, still more important is the spirit of international understanding and good will. Let our members not fear any derogation of their patriotism if their efforts for international good will are attacked by the advocates of what Dr. N. M. Butler has called "a crude and vulgar nationalism."

The chairman of your committee extends his cordial thanks to the President of the Conference, to the Secretary, to the members of his Committee, for their ready helpfulness whenever called on.

Respectfully submitted,

Max C. Currick, *Chairman*
M. M. Feuerlicht,
Henry M. Fisher,
James G. Heller,
Joseph Kornfeld,
Walter Gilbert Peiser,
Abram Simon,
Martin Zielonka.

The report was received and the recommendations considered *seriatim.*

Recommendation I was adopted and referred to the Executive Board. All recommendations were adopted.

A motion that the Conference go on record commending the action of Rosika Schwimmer was lost.

Rabbi Bernstein: Your committee has recommended that felicitations go from this Conference to various persons for work in behalf of Peace. It is my profound conviction that a woman who has the courage to say that under no circumstances will she have anything to do with that form of wholesale murder which we call war and who is prepared to make every possible sacrifice including loss of citizenship in order that this may be achieved, deserves the encouragement of this body of religious leaders. I realize that I am making a hopeless motion; I feel that most of the men present are committed against any such action. But I have noted the various recommendations that have been included in the report of the committee and with all due respect to the efforts of that committee, I feel that these matters are relatively insignificant in face of the opportunity which now presents itself to do something in behalf of peace. It seems to me that the only way to prevent war is to create a sentiment against war. We should encourage any effort to oppose war and I believe this is an historic opportunity for the Conference.

Rabbi Wolsey: I do not think that anyone here differs with Rabbi Bernstein on the subject of Peace or for the desirability of shaping public opinion in favor of it. I believe in this case, however, that singling out Rosika Schwimmer and ignoring the thousands of others who have made sacrifices for peace would weaken the cause of peace instead of strengthening it.

Rabbi Heller: There seems to be some confusion in the discussion which I believe needs clearing up. The decision

of the Supreme Court in the case of Rosika Schwimmer and the others who have been mentioned is not in regard to peace at all—it is a question of freedom of thought. The stand of Justices Holmes and Brandeis was an endorsement of freedom of thought. The position of Rosika Schwimmer was that of a conscientious objector to war.

Rabbi Mayerberg: I am in absolute agreement with every step this Conference has taken to bring about world peace, but we must also recognize the right of the government to say that anyone who assumes citizenship must also assume the responsibilities that citizenship entails under the present world philosophy. The adoption of this motion at the present time would commit not only ourselves but our fellow-Jews to a program that we are not yet prepared to carry out.

PEACE MANUAL

Rabbi James G. Heller: The suggestion of the Sisterhoods chanced to come to me personally. The resolution slightly, and I am sure unintentionally, mistates the facts. It is the Sisterhoods that wish to publish this text; all that they ask of the Committee on Peace is that it draw up a manual. Therefore it seems to me that the resolution should read that the Committee on International Peace be instructed to draw up a manual at the request of the Sisterhoods, which they will publish.

The report of the Curators of Archives was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF THE CURATORS OF ARCHIVES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your committee, on instructions of the Recording Secretary, sent out Conference publications, available for distribution, to all parts of the world.

Your committee begs to report that the following are the only Year Books still available for distribution: 1917, '18, '25, '26, '27, '28.

The committee recommends that when any assignment of books or reprints are sent to the College, a statement be sent to the chairman of the Archives, giving the exact number of each that has been sent.

Your committee recommends that a honorarium of $15.00 be given Mr. Abner Young who arranges the stock of books and attends to the necessary mailing of them when so ordered by the Recording Secretary. It also recommends that the sum of $10.00 be made available for mailing expense, ($11.39 is still on hand for that purpose).

Respectfully submitted,
HENRY ENGLANDER, *Chairman*
SHELDON H. BLANK,
J. Z. LAUTERBACH.

The report was received and the recommendations were adopted.

The report of the Arbitration Committee was presented by Rabbi Philipson.

REPORT OF THE ARBITRATION COMMITTEE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: I am pleased to report that only one case was referred to the Arbitration Committee during the year and that a settlement satisfactory to all parties was secured.

Respectfully submitted,
DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman.*

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Commission on Social Justice was read by Rabbi Edward L. Israel.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The periodic appearance of the Bulletin of the Commission on Social Justice during the past year has served to acquaint our membership and the public at large with much of the activity of our Commission. It is therefore unnecessary within the confines of this report to go into any great detail regarding much of the work which has been carried on. It will be our endeavor to present before you only such matters as require the action of this Conference or information regarding activities which are now pending.

THE BULLETIN OF THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

Through the action of the Conference at the Chicago meeting, a sum of $500 was appropriated for the periodic issue of a Bulletin to inform our members and the country at large concerning the work of the Commission on Social Justice and the activities of the members of the Conference along corresponding lines. This Bulletin has proved itself to be of immense value. It has been widely distributed to individuals and the press. It has received very favorable comment in many publications. It has not only afforded an opportunity for the Social Justice Commission to inform the membership of the Conference and the communities at large concerning our work but it has also served to acquaint the general public with conspicuous activities in behalf of Social Justice which are being carried on by all the members of our Conference. We urge that all our members follow the custom that has been practiced by some of us in sending to the chairman of the Social Justice Commission any newspaper articles or other notices demonstrating the interest of the members of the Conference in matters of Social Justice. In this way we are able to inform the entire country of the commendable activity that the Reform rabbis are carrying on from their pulpits and in their community life.

I While the entire appropriation of $500 for publicity purposes was not expended during the past year, we ask that the Conference again place at our disposal for the ensuing year the sum of $500 that the Bulletin of the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis may be continued.

THE PROGRAM OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Wide publicity has been given to the program of Social Justice adopted by the Conference at the Chicago meeting last year. Through the authorization of the Executive Board, there have been printed 10,000 copies of the program in full, 5000 copies of a condensed version, and 5000 of a Yiddish translation. Practically all these copies have been distributed although a number of them are still available. We desire to express our appreciation to various members of the Conference who have been most helpful in distributing copies of our program among their congregations or among interested parties in their communities, or in suggesting institutions and organizations to which we might send them. We also desire to thank many of our members for the excellent publicity given to our program in the pages of their congregational Bulletins, and to the Jewish press, both in English and Yiddish, for the many fine articles regarding our program which have appeared. We urge those members who have not already done

so to request from the chairman of the Social Justice Commission copies of our program for distribution during the fall holy days. These copies are sent free of charge and postpaid.

THE TEXTILE SITUATION

While negotiations and correspondence regarding quite a number of industrial and social problems have engrossed the attention of the Social Justice Commission during the past year, there are a few which stand out. Chief among these is the situation created by the general unrest in the textile industry. Your Commission has been extremely interested in this serious matter. The chairman took part in a seminar on Religion and New England Industry held last November in Boston. Arrangements for a similar meeting of even farther reaching significance to be held this fall are now in the process of completion. The results of the November, 1928, meeting were published in our Bulletin and widely reprinted.

The serious situation in the Southern mills has been met to the best of our ability. Conferences have been held with labor leaders; employers have been communicated with. At the present time, in cooperation with the Federal Council of Churches and the National Catholic Welfare Conference a committee has been organized which has already put itself on record as favoring a thorough investigation of the entire textile industry and is seeking to interview the Federal authorities with regard to the necessity of such an investigation. When we consider that the economic changes which have been going on in this industry have brought distress to thousands of people, the human aspect of the situation and the demand for our interest and participation become evident.

II We ask the Conference to ratify our action in joining with the other religious bodies in the field of Social Justice in petitioning Congress to appoint a commission to investigate conditions in the Textile Industry.

THE CENTRALIA MATTER

Some years ago, in Centralia, Washington, on Armistice Day, there occurred an unfortunate outbreak which resulted in loss of life through shooting and lynching and in several arrests in which a number of men were imprisoned. Subsequent events have indicated that there is a great likelihood that in the Centralia convictions there was a flagrant violation of civil liberties entirely out of harmony with the standards imposed by our program of social justice. It is impossible to rehearse all the details within the confines of this report. It is sufficient to mention that among other things affidavits by the jurors who sat in the case seem to indicate a grave miscarriage of justice. A

group of Protestant ministers of that state including the Methodist Episcopal bishop together with Rabbi Samuel Koch of Seattle, have requested the Federal Council and the Social Justice Commission to undertake a supplementary investigation of the Centralia case with the purpose of publishing a monograph of our findings in the hope of bringing about real justice in the situation.

III We ask the Conference to sanction our cooperation with the Federal Council of Churches in this matter and permission to unite with them in publishing the result of the investigation which will be conducted.

COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE

We have felt for some time that the fundamental problems which so gravely concern the welfare of our Jewish masses find our point of view very strongly in agreement with the most enlightened attitude of the leaders of Jewish social work. We have felt that through the establishment of some definite basis of cooperation certain matters of vital importance to Jewish life in America can be more effectively handled. Informal overtures along this line have been made to the officers of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service. These overtures were received in a very cordial manner. Nothing definite, however, has been done because we desired the official action of the authoritative consent of the entire Conference before building up any definite program.

IV We therefore ask the Conference to give to the Commission on Social Justice the authority to suggest to the National Conference of Jewish Social Service the advisability of appointing a committee on cooperation with the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to discuss and carry on work, within the constituted powers of the cooperating bodies, for the social welfare of our American Jewish communal life.

AN ANNUAL SOCIAL JUSTICE MESSAGE

It is the custom of other religious bodies to issue on Labor Day every year a labor message. During the past year our activity along this line consisted merely of a personal message from the chairman of the Social Justice Commission at the request of a labor organization. It has been the feeling of various members of our commission that instead of a labor message on Labor Day, the Social Justice Commission issue a Social Justice message at the time of our High Holy Days.

We ask the Conference to authorize its Commission on Social

V Justice to issue a message annually on Labor Day. This message will be an expression of the spirit of our program of Social Justice. We urge upon the members of the Conference that they give publicity to this message from the pulpit, in the pages of the congregational bulletins, and through the pages of the local and state press, at the season of the High Holy Days.

THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

A number of conferences during the past year were held between the chairman of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the chairman of the Social Justice Commission with regard to the problems of social justice and the Union. It is very gratifying to record that at the San Francisco meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations the abrogated Social Justice Commission of that body was ordered reconstituted and furthermore there was authorized a support by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations of the Commission on Social Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. A plan for such cooperation was submitted to Mr. Vogelstein and was considered at the meeting of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Cincinnati the early part of this month.

The action of the Executive Board as recorded in the minutes is as follows: "Pursuant to the action taken by the XXI Council, the Board authorized the Chairman to appoint a Commission on Social Justice who are to report to the next meeting of the Executive Board with reference to a program of action. The Chairman appointed Messrs. Milford Stern, Chairman, Robert P. Goldman, Rabbi James G. Heller, Isaac Frank, and Roscoe C. Nelson." Mr. Vogelstein writes that it was the sense of the Board to await the recommendations of this committee in regard to financial support, which will be forthcoming if the committee advises it.

The splendid personnel of the Committee appointed by the chairman of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations indicates a most sympathetic attitude toward our work and a desire to place in conference with us men of fine vision with whom we can readily cooperate.

VI The Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis asks from the Conference the authority to proceed with discussions with the Commission on Social Justice of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations with regard to financial support for the Central Conference of American Rabbis Commission work and to enter into a final plan of arrangements, sub-

ject to the approval of the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

THE MOONEY-BILLINGS CASE

Everyone at all conversant with problems of civil liberties has heard recently of the agitation in California with regard to the case of Mooney and Billings. There seems every indication of the fact that here, too, we have a grave miscarriage of justice. The Federation of Churches in California has already taken action and there is every probability that something may be done in the matter by Governor Young during this summer. The Social Justice Commission urges the Conference to adopt and forward to Governor Young the following resolution:

VII Certain developments in the case of Mooney and Billings have caused hundreds of thousands of fair minded people throughout our land to have grave doubts concerning the guilt of one or both of these men. There are many indications that questionable factors have entered into the trial of these men and have resulted in a conviction which was not in accordance with the principles of American justice and liberty.

We, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in convention assembled, joining with many other representative groups, respectfully petition Governor Young of California to enter into a complete investigation of this case and in event of a discovery of a miscarriage of justice with regard to either one or both of these men to pardon them.

BIRTH REGULATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Several years ago, the Social Justice Commission, then under the leadership of Rabbi Ephraim Frisch, presented certain recommendations with regard to birth regulation. The Conference took no action but recommended a responsum on the subject. This was submitted last year by Dr. Jacob Lauterbach. The general spirit of this responsum was that the attitude of Judaism on the subject of birth regulation was by no means dogmatic and that there is room in Jewish life for an interpretation of this subject from a liberal and progressive point of view.

Recognizing the need of exercising great caution in dealing with the delicate and complicated problem of birth regulation in view of the widespread dissolution of the old sanctions affecting the institution of marriage and the ties of family life; earnestly desiring to guard against playing into the hands of those who undermine the dignity and sanctity of these precious bonds through reckless notions and practices having to do with sex relations; especially mindful of the noble tradition obtaining among the Jewish people with respect

to the holiness and the crucial importance of domestic relations; but realizing at the same time the many serious evils caused by uncontrolled parenthood among those who lack the prerequisites of health and a reasonable measure of economic resources and intelligence to give to their children the heritage to which they are entitled;

We, therefore, recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis urge the recognition of the importance of the control
VIII of parenthood as one of the methods of coping with social problems;

We further recommend to the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis that a portion of next year's program be devoted to one or more papers on this subject.

LOUIS MISCHKIND

We desire to express as a commission our deep regret at the passing of one of the most valuable members of our group, Rabbi Louis Mischkind. His fine social vision and courage were an inspiration to us in our work. His death is our great loss.

CONCLUSION

Your commission, in conclusion, desires again to express to the membership in general its great appreciation of the cooperation extended it in its work, and asks for a continuation of your help and support.

Respectfully submitted,
EDWARD L. ISRAEL, *Chairman*
BERNARD J. BAMBERGER,
HENRY J. BERKOWITZ,
RUDOLPH I. COFFEE,
ABRAHAM CRONBACH,
G. GEORGE FOX,
EPHRAIM FRISCH,
S. H. GOLDENSON,
SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN,
E. W. LEIPZIGER,
SAMUEL S. MAYERBERG,
VICTOR EMANUEL REICHERT,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

The report was received and the recommendations were considered *seriatim*. All recommendations were adopted, recommendations I and VIII being referred to the Executive Board.

The report of the Committee on Synagog Music was read by Rabbi Wolsey.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SYNAGOG MUSIC

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN:

Your Committee on Synagog Music, which has been charged with the work of the revision of the Union Hymnal, begs leave to submit the following report for your earnest consideration:

The Committee has held two meetings during the year, one on March 4, and the other on May 20 and 21st, in the city of New York, and one meeting of the Sub-Committee on April 3, in New York City. The Committee, at great pains, reviewed all the work that has so far been done, scrutinizing the music and words of the Hymnal, likewise the words and music of the old red bound Hymnal, as well as the new verses which were submitted for new settings. The Committee reports a study of the Union Hymnal, as follows.

Retentions and Eliminations

It has separated twelve of the Hymns in the present book, that is it recommends the use of other music for the following Hymns, and the utilization of the music for new words, namely: Nos. 39, 49, 59, 66, 72, 102, 117, 176, 185, 202, 210, 167.

It has definitely rejected the music of the following one hundred and fifty-seven Hymns: Nos. 6, 7, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, first and second tunes; 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 106, first and second; 107, 108, 109, first and second tunes; 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, first and second tunes; 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 161, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 225.

It likewise rejects the words of the following eighty-nine Hymns: Nos. 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 31, 33, 34, 37, 41, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 54, 57, 60, 62, 64, 65, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 91, 94, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 118, 120, 124, 127, 129, 134, 137, 141, 144, 148, 149, 153, 155, 157, 159, 165, 168, 172, 173, 177, 180, 181, 187, 190, 193,

200, 204, 206, 209, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 219, 218, 220, 223. It recommends also a revival of Hymns Nos. 38, 55, and 104, in the Red Hymnal, with the separation of the words and music.

The meeting of March 4th was the first meeting at which we had the attendance and the consultation of our musical editor, Mr. Abraham W. Binder, whose report for the year is herewith appended. We can hardly say too much in praise of the fine co-operation which the Committee receives from Mr. Binder. He has already given us settings for about forty Hymns, that have already been accepted by the Committee. His thorough-going sympathy with the plan and purpose of the Hymn Book, as well as his great knowledge of and love for Jewish music, have been invaluable aids to the work of the Committee. In accordance with the instruction of the Executive Board, the Committee has definitely approved of the suggestion that acknowledgement of his service be made in the preface to the new Hymn Book. With the approval of the Committee, Mr. Binder has invited the service of the following musicians for the composition of new music: Rubin Goldmark of New York, Joseph Achron of New York, Samuel Alman of London, Solomon Rosovsky of Jerusalem, Harry Rowe Shelley of New York, N. Lindsay Norden of Philadelphia, Hugo Grimm of Cincinnati, Henry Gideon of Boston, Jacob Beimel of Philadelphia, Max Grauman of New York, Ruben Rinder of San Francisco, Rabbi James G. Heller of Cincinnati, and Rabbi Jacob Singer of Chicago. All of these musicians have already accepted our invitation.

It was decided by the Committee that these composers should receive honoraria for their work, at the rate of from $5 to $25 per hymn, and we ask the approval of the Conference on this decision. All the work of composers, as well as verses submitted, is to be subject to the approval of the entire Committee, as well as the Conference, and their work is to remain the property of the Conference.

At Mr. Binder's suggestion, the following rules were submitted to all composers. Please bear in mind that your tunes are to be sung by large masses, composed of people who never sing or just sing a little. These hymn tunes are also to be sung by large assemblies of children. You will, therefore, please bear in mind the following:

1. Above all, your melody is not to have too wide a range. The following range is suggested: B-flat to E-flat. (E-flat is to be avoided, if possible).
2. The melody must not be difficult.
3. It must be appealing.
4. The melody must fit not only the first stanza but others as well.
5. The melody must not drag.

6. The melody must sound complete, even when sung without accompaniment.

7. The melody must be rythmically interesting, as well as melodically and harmonically.

8. It must be scored in four singable parts, although we are suggesting unison singing for hymns.

9. You may use a melody with Jewish characteristics or an adaptation of a traditional tune, provided that the melody fits the spirit of the occasion at which the hymn is to be sung.

10. The editor reserves the right to accept or reject a setting.

The Committee definitely accepted Mr. Binder's settings for Hymns 26, 13, 84, 36, 44, 63, 55, 69, 116, 108, 126, 169, 186, 192, 196, 210, 201, 221, 200, 27. One setting by Rabbi Heller for Hymn No. 92 was accepted. In the acceptance of all this music, the Committee and the Musical Editor were governed very largely by the desire to make it as colorful and Jewish as possible. The motifs of Christian hymnology which find so unnecessarily a large place in the present Hymn Book, are being definitely avoided. It is the aim of the Committee and Mr. Binder to make our new Hymn Book as Jewish as possible, of course consonant with our Reform point of view.

Thirty-eight new verses were definitely accepted by the Committee for inclusion in the revised edition, from the following authors: John Haynes Holmes, Max D. Klein, S. Smith, Rabbi Louis Newman, Mrs. I. L. Rypins, Thomas Tallis, T. A. Davis, I. S. Moses, Alice Lucas, Jesse Sampter, Mrs. Adeline Rosewater, Rabbi David Levy.

The verses cover many subjects that are not provided for in the present Hymnal, as for example: "The Torah," "Shabuoth," "Childhood and Youth," "God's Wisdom," "Repentance and Yom Kippur," "The Conclusion of the Sabbath," "Patriotism," "Let There Be Light." "Resignation," "Praise," "'Hanukkah," "Prayer for Wisdom," "Aspiration," "Dew," "Simchath Torah." We provided additional Hymns on the following subjects that already have one or two Hymns on the subject in the present Hymnal: "The Close of Service." "Gratitude," "Kindergarten," "Sunday School Opening," "Sabbath Morning," "Spring," "Summer," "Service," "Thanksgiving and the Harvest," "Rosh Hashonah."

There are still many religious needs we might provide for, as for example: Anniversaries, Purim, Freedom, Love of Learning, Reign of Righteousness, Sanctity of Human Life, Self-Sacrifice, Social Progress, Struggle for Righteousness, Spiritual Interpretation of History, Truth, The Word of God, Discipline of Sorrow, Duty, Immortality. The Committee is continuing its work on this phase of the revision, and shall industriously seek to provide a Hymn Book that

shall care for all of the religious needs of our Religious Schools and our Congregations.

Children's Services

The Committee is in receipt of a report from our Committee on Liturgy, which was charged with the duty of providing new services in the Hymn Book, that in the opinion of that Committee, the present services will suffice. The letter from Dr. Philipson reads as follows: "At the meeting of the Committee on Liturgy on February 26, in Cincinnati, it was finally resolved to retain the children's services in the present Hymn Book. It was also resolved to add a service for the High School Department. This service will be practically the present week-day service in the Union Prayer Book, which most of us use on Sunday mornings. There were some new services submitted, but they did not find favor with the majority of the Commission. As soon as we hear from the members of the Commission who were not present, that they agree to the inclusion of the additional service, I shall let you know."

This seems to be the official status of the matter of Children's Service at this date. The history of the matter is, that at the session of the Conference of 1925 (see Volume XXXV, page 124), the Committee on Revision of the Hymn Book reported: "The Hymnal should emphasize the Holy Days and their special value and significance in our religious life. To this end the Committee committed itself to give separate services, namely, one each for the Sabbath (for religious schools and small congregations), for the three festivals of Pesach, Shabuoth and Succoth, with inserts for special services of each of them for Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur." And this report of the Committee was adopted.

It is, therefore, the opinion of your Committee that the Conference has definitely ordered the preparation of these services, as well as the revision of the present services. The opinion of the Committee, as well as the action of that Conference, seem to be borne out by the paper of Rabbi Lazaron entitled "Religious Worship for Children," which appears on page 344 of the last Year Book. Rabbi Lazaron says: "With a complete understanding of the difficulties confronting the men who worked out the services in the Union Hymnal, I earnestly question the worthwhileness of such religious services—that is their value as they are now arranged—in developing the spirit of prayer. I wonder if we have not too slavishly followed the framework of the liturgy. I recognize the thought in the mind of the committee in retaining the traditional framework. I feel, however, that they are psychologically unfit for the purpose for which they were designed. The traditional prayers are adult prayers and the religious

school assembly service belongs essentially to the children. It should be their service and should be marked by as much informality as can be achieved while preserving the spirit of reverence. I earnestly hope that this is the point of view of the sub-committee which is preparing the service for a new edition of our Hymnal."

I In view of the impasse which seems to exist as between the decisions of the Committee on Synagog Music, the Committee on Liturgy, and the entire Conference, this Committee recommends to the present Conference that the Committee on Revision of the Hymnal be given complete jurisdiction over the matter of the inclusion and revision of Children's Services, and that the Conference recommend to the incoming administration the appointment of Rabbis Freehof, Calisch, Cronbach and Lazaron as additional members of the Committee on Synagog Music.

II The Committee wishes further to recommend to the Conference that the Hymnal contain Hebrew responses for the Sabbath and High Holy Days, the melodies of each to be representative of the festival, as for instance, a Succoth motif to be utilized for the Succoth response, and that in this respect we follow the method of the Moses Hymnal.

III The Committee further recommends that the Hymn Book be divided into three parts, namely, Part I, Hymns; Part II, Chil-
IV dren's Service; Part III, Responses; that the anthem texts
V found in the back of the present book, be omitted; and that the printed volume be the same size as the present book.

Financing of the Hymn Book

So far, the Committee has incurred only a negligible expense in the compiling of the new Hymnal. In 1927-28 we spent $14.87. In 1928-29, up to May 23, we have spent $94. This expense has been practically the payment of the expenses of the members of the Committee in attendance at meetings. The Conference has already approved of an honorarium of $1000 for Mr. Binder. There still remains the expense of honoraria to the composers, and the Committee feels that a pretentious undertaking of this character, ought to be generously subvented by the Conference. It belongs to our Department of Publications, and it is presumed that the sale of the book will be sufficiently large not alone to cover all of the expense of compilation and editing, but also to provide a reasonable profit to the Conference. It is the purpose of the Committee so to finance this project that it may enable the Publication Committee to sell the new Hymn Book for something like 75c. In other words, the Committee asks of the Conference the same concession as must have been granted to the Committee compil-

ing the Union Prayer Book. Naturally, the Committee would follow a policy of economy as rigidly as possible, but it requests the
VI Conference not to limit the expenditure of money upon necessary phases of the Hymnal.

It is also suggested to the Conference by the Committee that the final manuscript of the Hymn Book be not submitted to the
VII entire Conference prior to our next meeting. This recommendation is made in the interest of economy. The mimeographing of the manuscript and its distribution might prove to be a rather heavy burden upon the treasury.

We are very glad to say that unforeseen delays aside, the complete manuscript of the new Hymn Book will be ready for the next session.

Respectfully submitted,
LOUIS WOLSEY,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE MUSIC EDITOR

It was the first duty of the Music Editor to study the reports that were made by the Committee that eliminated verses and tunes in the old black Hymnal, as well as the reports of the committees that studied the red Hymnal, with the purpose of bringing back some of its material into the new edition. The Music Editor agreed with most of the suggestions in the reports, but suggested certain modifications in these decisions. This work, together with the selection of new verses, has formed the groundwork for the construction of the revised edition which is soon to be put forth.

Upon the recommendation of the Music Editor, it was moved, seconded and carried by the members of the Committee on Synagog Music, that the following composers be invited to contribute musical settings for the new verses, and for the old verses which were to be reset:

Rubin Goldmark, of New York
Joseph Achron, of New York
Samuel Alman, of London
Solomon Rosovsky, of Jerusalem
Harry Rowe Schelley, of New York
N. Lindsay Norden, of Philadelphia
Hugo Grimm, of Cincinnati
Henry Gideon, of Boston
Jacob Bimel, of Philadelphia
Max Grauman, of New York
Ruben Rinder, of San Francisco
James G. Heller, of Cincinnati
Jacob Singer, of Chicago

All of the above-mentioned received this invitation with a great deal of enthusiasm and interest.

Of these names, Messrs. Achron, Alman, Rosovsky and Beimel will surely contribute something significantly Jewish. The others, all men of musical reputation and ability in the field of religious music, are expected to contribute musical settings which ought to enhance the value of the revised edition.

The Music Editor has pointed out to the composers that if he were seeking the old accepted style of hymn tune, it would not be so difficult to scan the field of Christian hymnology to select tunes and fit them (or misfit them as is so often done) to our new verses. But the Music Editor has something else in mind. He wishes to sound a new note in the realm of hymnology. He wants first of all a tune which possesses religious spirit. It must have melodic beauty, rhythmic invention and harmonic interest. We want tunes that are spiritually uplifting, that add life to the service, and that are not alien to the Jewish soul. It is hoped that our new hymns will echo the spirit of the Synagog rather than the Church. To that end, the Music Editor has already contributed about forty new settings, some of which are already well known through his publications. In most cases the tunes are original, while in others he has employed melodies by the great masters of Synagog music, as well as well known traditional tunes. The Music Editor has also outlined as far as possible, music for the children's services. This cannot be completed without the manuscript of the children's services, which ought to be in the hands of the Committee very soon. These services will include responses which are well known both in this country and in Europe.

If events take place as scheduled, we hope to be able to present a manuscript to the Conference a year from now, with the hope that the Hymnal may see the light a year from that time.

Respectfully submitted,

A. W. Binder.

The report was received and the recommendations were considered *seriatim.* Recommendations I-III were adopted,

Recommendation IV. It was moved and adopted that a questionnaire shall be sent to the members of the Conference to ascertain the wishes of the members in regard to the retention of the Anthem Texts.

Recommendations V and VI were adopted.

Recommendation VII. It was moved and adopted that the texts and Children's Services shall be submitted to the members of the Conference for criticism and suggestions before

the Hymn Book shall be submitted to the Convention for adoption.

The report was adopted as amended.

RECOMMENDATION IV—ANTHEM TEXTS

Rabbi James G. Heller: I would like all the members of the Conference to understand clearly this recommendation of the Committee. What is meant by "Anthem Texts" is the words of songs sung not by the congregation, but by the choir,—not hymnal but choral numbers. In all likelihood little or no use has been made of these by the overwhelming majority of Reform congregations throughout the country. The repertoire of most choirs is much larger. It is at least a question whether the expense involved in including these texts in the hymnal is justified by the use made of them.

The Conference adjourned.

WEDNESDAY EVENING

The Conference reassembled at 8:00 o'clock at Temple Beth El. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi William Rosenau and the Evening Service for Week-Days from the Union Prayer Book was read by Rabbi Leo M. Franklin. The Annual Message of the President was read by Rabbi H. G. Enelow. (Appendix A). Upon its completion it was, on motion duly carried, referred to the Committee on President's Message.

Memorial Resolutions in memory of Leon Harrison were presented by Rabbi Maurice H. Harris; in memory of Emil Ellinger by Rabbi Moses P. Jacobson; in memory of Louis A. Mischkind by Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman; and in memory of Maxmillian Heller by Rabbi Joseph Stolz. (Appendix C).

Kaddish was recited by the members of the Conference in memory of the departed colleagues. The benediction was given by Rabbi Joseph Stolz. The Conference then adjourned.

THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 27th

The Conference assembled at 9:30 A. M. in the Assembly Hall at the Hotel Statler, with the President, H. G. Enelow, in the Chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Charles S. Levi. The report of the Committee on Liturgical Literature was read by Rabbi David Philipson.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LITURGICAL LITERATURE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

Gentlemen: Two matters were referred to your Committee on Liturgical Literature, first, the request of the Committee on Union Hymnal for Children's Services to be published in the New Hymnal, and secondly, the Services for University Students.

The first named subject was included also by the Committee on Union Hymnal in its report. The Conference disposed of the matter by instructing the Committee on Union Hymnal to provide these services.

In regard to the Prayer Book for University Students, we beg leave to report that a member of our Liturgical Committee wrote a number of services for this purpose. When these services were considered at a meeting of the Committee several years ago, the lamented Benjamin Frankel, the Direcctor of the Hillel Foundation, felt that they did not meet the need. It was his thought that the students themselves should write prayers for these services. He sent a number of these prayers but they were altogether inadequate. Unfortunately he passed away before any further steps were taken. The Chairman of the Hillel Foundation Board of the B'nai B'rith urges that the matter be again earnestly taken up since a great need for such services exists. We recommend that action favorable to this request be taken and that a special committee with Rabbi Louis L. Mann as Chairman be placed in charge of this task.

At the session of the Conference held in July, 1928, a resolution to the effect that all innovations in the services which have been made by members of the Conference should be tabulated for the benefit of the remainder of the Conference members. This was referred to the Committee on Liturgical Literature. The attention of the members of the Conference is herewith called to this resolution and they are requested to send to the Secretary all innovations in ritual and ceremonial which they have introduced or would suggest. This is in line with the recommendation made in the report submitted by our committee several years ago, that the Secretary of the Committee be entrusted with the task of compiling all suggestions made by members

for changes in the ritual so that these may be available should another revision of the prayer book ever be undertaken.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman*
ISAAC E. MARCUSON, *Secretary*
ISRAEL BETTAN,
EDWARD N. CALISCH,
SAMUEL S. COHON,
ABRAHAM CRONBACH,
H. G. ENELOW,
H. W. ETTELSON,
W. H. FINESCHRIBER,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
S. H. GOLDENSON,
LOUIS L. MANN,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
SAMUEL SCHULMAN,
A. H. SILVER,
ABRAM SIMON.

The report was received and the recommendations were adopted.

The report of the Committee on Relief was read by Rabbi Joseph Stolz.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELIEF

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Relief begs leave to report as follows for the period of twelve months from June 1928 to June 1929.

We have added three new pensioners during the year and are now paying pensions to five widows and eight superannuated rabbis, amounting to $505.00 per month.

The total amount expended for these pensions during the period covered by this report was $5435.00, which is $875.00 more than was expended the preceding year.

At the request of the Executive Board, the Relief Committee has re-investigated the financial situation of the pensioners, for the purpose of readjustment to present economic conditions, and are prepared to report the result to the post-Conference meeting of the Board.

The receipts of the Relief Fund during this fiscal year amounted to $13,031.40, viz.:

One-half dues	$ 795.00
Interest on Bank Deposits	699.98
Interest on Bonds	8,299.50

Solicitations (preceding year)	3,243.92
Total Disbursements	6,052.55

leaving a surplus for the year of $6,978.85.

The Relief Fund, on June 10, 1929, amounted to $118,799.16, which is an increase of $6,978.85 over the sum reported last year.

This money has been invested by the Investment Committee in safe securities and is in the keeping of our Custodian bank, the Birmingham Trust & Savings Bank of Birmingham, Ala.

The Solicitation Committee deserves our special gratitude for the diligence, persistency and success of their collection which amounts to $10,423.00, but has not yet been remitted to the Treasurer, and will be supplemented by several thousand dollars received by the Committee since the closing of the books.

It has already been reported to the Conference that the Synagog Pension Fund has been consummated by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. On June 4, 1929, the Jacob H. Schiff donation amounted to $171,485.90.

However, it is imperative at this time to remind the Conference that by resolution of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Pension Fund cannot become effective until 25 congregations have actually adopted it, whereas at this date only three congregations have officially made application to the Union for the privilege of pensioning their rabbis.

Delay is costly. Every year adds to the expense all around, and it is to the decided advantage of every congregation to enter upon the plan without procrastination. As the Rabbi advances in age, the cost of premium is naturally increased both to the congregation and the Rabbi; and according to agreement, the annual contribution by the Union of Ten Dollars for each year of his service in the rabbinate is computed only for such service as has been rendered prior to December 31, 1927.

The Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations arranged at its meeting June 1, 1929, to have a representative of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company present to explain the pension plan to any congregation desiring more explicit information.

We, therefore, recommend, 1) that the voluntary services of this representative be solicited by the congregations; and 2) that early in September our Executive Board bring to the attention of the respective

congregations their privilege and duty to give this matter their prompt and favorable consideration.

Respectfully submitted,
JOSEPH STOLZ,
ABRAM HIRSCHBERG,
SAMUEL KOCH,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
TOBIAS SCHANFARBER.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Source Book of Reform was presented by Rabbi Israel Bettan. The Committee reported progress and hoped to be able to have its work completed in the near future.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Falashas was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FALASHAS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: I am pleased to attach to this report a confidential communication sent to your chairman, upon his request, from Mr. Addison E. Southard, the United States Minister to Abyssinia, on the present status of the Falasha work. Mr. Southard's communication, I am confident, will correct any misgiving that some may entertain about the work in Abyssinia among the Falashas, and persuade everyone who has not yet supported this work to contribute in a measure that will enable us to discharge this obligation with credit to the members of the Conference and to the credit of American Jews.

Our report on the participation of members of the Conference in the assistance given this one and only Jewish missionary project in which we are engaged, however, is not so cheerful. From January 1st to December 31st, 1928, members of the Conference, through their congregations and individually, contributed a total of $3,871.46, not including 12 contributions which came from Jewish community chests in 12 cities. Seventy-one colleagues representing 63 congregations contributed in sums from $5 to $700.

Up to date for 1929, 63 of our colleagues representing 56 congregations have contributed $2,668.20. This means that to raise a sum equal to that of 1928 it will be necessary to carry on our campaign among the remainder of our colleagues during the fall.

The American Pro-Falasha Committee still falls $3,000 short each year of meeting its budget of $16,000 a year.

It seems to us a pitiful situation that American Jews cannot contribute in full this modest demand for the work in Abyssinia. Probably this is due to the fact that the Falasha people do not ask for charity. What they ask, and this certainly should appeal to rabbis, is that we assist in setting up and maintaining an educational system that will enable them to harmonize their outlook upon Judaism with that of Judaism in the modern world.

The King of Abyssinia has given to the American Pro-Falasha Committee a contribution of $2,500 for the building of a new edifice to carry on the work under proper circumstances and conditions. This in itself should provide an impetus for our colleagues to raise the $3,000 required from us during next fall.

Your Committee pleads for a gracious and generous response.

Following the usual Conference custom of appointing new men to committees whose duty is the solicitation of funds, we recommend that the present Committee be discharged at this Conference and a new Committee be appointed for next year.

Respectfully submitted by the Committee on Cooperation with the American Pro-Falasha Committee,

ISAAC LANDMAN, *Chairman*
SOLOMON FOSTER, *Vice-Chairman*
HENRY COHEN,
EPHRAIM FRISCH,
JOSEPH RAUCH,
JOSEPH STOLZ,
NATHAN STERN,
WILLIAM ROSENAU.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Neumark Manuscript was presented by Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NEUMARK MANUSCRIPT

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Committee on Neumark Publications takes pleasure in announcing the completion of its task. The volume of Selected Essays in English has been printed; and will be ready for distribution in the very near future.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL S. COHON, *Chairman*
ISRAEL BETTAN,
HENRY ENGLANDER,
ABRAHAM Z. IDELSON.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History was presented. The historical part was read by Rabbi Marcus, the literary section by Rabbi Felix A. Levy.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: On the basis of its report and studies, your committee suggests:

1. That the sympathy of the Conference be expressed to the families of those distinguished Jews whose necrologies have been read;
2. That the Conference believes it advisable that the Synagog Council of America determine upon certain requirements in regard to religious and ceremonial needs in the building and administration of a Jewish hospital before the Jewish RELIGIOUS community can pledge its support;
3. That the Conference send its greetings and good wishes to the Jewish Agency meeting in Zurich this summer;
4. That the Conference through its constituent members urge every American Jew who has not yet been naturalized to prepare himself and apply for citizenship as soon as possible;
5. That the Conference call a meeting of rabbinical educationists and lay Jewish educators to determine their respective fields of work and to further means of cooperation.

FELIX A. LEVY, *Chairman*
JOSEPH L. BARON,
SAMUEL S. COHON,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
JACOB R. MARCUS,
ABRAHAM B. RHINE,
SAMUEL SCHWARTZ.

Recommendations I, III and IV were adopted. Recommendations II and V were referrd to the Executive Board. The report was adopted as a whole.

Report of Committee on Contemporaneous History, Appendix D.

The amendment to the Constitution, amending Article IV, Section 1, to read "The annual dues shall be $10.00, payable in advance" was discussed at length. After several amendments were voted upon and lost, a motion to adopt the amendment as proposed was lost.

A paper on Recent Archaelogical Work in Palestine was read by Rabbi Nelson Glueck (Appendix E). The discussion was led by Rabbi Sheldon Blank and was participated in by Rabbis Morgenstern, Silverman, Frisch, Singer, Mayerberg, Bernard Heller and Glueck.

For discussion, see page 293.

A motion to reprint this paper for distribution to libraries and colleges was referred to the Executive Board.

The meeting adjourned.

THURSDAY EVENING

The Convention reassembled at eight P. M. A paper on The Life and Work of Moses Mendelssohn was read by Rabbi Walter Rothman and the discussion thereon was presented by Rabbi Bernard J. Bamberger. A paper on Moses Mendelssohn's Ideas of Religion was read by Rabbi Felix A. Levy and the discussion of this paper was presented by Rabbi Joseph Rauch.

A paper on The Friendship of Mendelssohn and Lessing and Its Relation to the Good Will Movement Between Jews and Non-Jews was read by Rabbi Louis J. Kopald, and the discussion of the paper was presented by Rabbi Albert G. Minda. A general discussion of all papers followed and was participated in by Rabbis Bernard Heller, Solomon Foster, Joseph Silverman, Isaac Landman, Samuel H. Goldenson, and Louis J. Kopald.

For papers, see Appendix H. Discussion, page 387.

The Conference then adjourned.

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 28th

The Conference reassembled at 9:30 A. M. with the President, H. G. Enelow, in the Chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Harry A. Merfeld.

The Chairman of the Committee on Religious Education, Rabbi Louis L. Mann, took the Chair.

Rabbi Mann: Our work this year was outlined for us by the Executive Board of the Conference. Two historical

papers were wanted, so we received little chance to show our own ability and genius in formulating a program. We did do one thing however. We tried to choose men for the papers who have been devoting a great deal of their time to the very problems that were to be discussed at this meeting. We hope to change our program rather considerably for next year.

We believe that the Committee on Religious Education ought to present to the members of the Conference the trends in Religious Education and review some of the outstanding books on religious education and on pedagogy in general, in so far as they border upon our field.

A paper on Forty Years of the Reform Jewish Religious School—Its Achievements and Its Failures, was read by Rabbi Jacob B. Pollak. (Appendix I).

A paper on A Critical Evaluation of the Reform Religious School was read by Rabbi Solomon A. Fineberg. (Appendix J). The discussion was opened by Rabbi Harvey B. Franklin and participated in by Rabbis Maurice H. Harris, Solomon Foster, Samuel S. Mayerberg, G. George Fox, James G. Heller, Edward N. Calisch, Joseph Silverman, Barnet R. Brickner, Solomon A. Fineberg, Jacob B. Pollak, and Dr. Emanuel Gamoran.

For discussion, see page 451.

The report of the Commission on Religious Education was read by Rabbi David Philipson.

REPORT OF COMMISSION ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: I am pleased to report a year of unusually successful activity in the publication of educational literature under the auspices of the Commission on Jewish Education. In presenting my report to you, I think it is well to point out that this year was successful not merely from the point of view of the number of publications prepared, but also because of the new departure with reference to the type of publications. I am referring to "The Burning Bush" by Joseph Gaer, and "In the Days of the Second Temple" by Dr. Jacob S. Golub.

The first is a well written book containing a series of stories based

on Jewish folklore, and has been beautifully illustrated by Aaron J. Goodelman. The publication of this book represents our first effort in the direction of preparing supplementary reading for the children in our religious schools.

The history text, "In the Days of the Second Temple," by Dr. Golub, also represents a new departure in view of the fact that the entire story of the Second Commonwealth is treated in problem form. The period from 586 B. C. E. to 70 C. E. is organized around seven problems, and in the course of discussion that centers around these problems, the pupil learns the significant facts that occurred during this period. Furthermore, a pupil's exercise book is in preparation to accompany this volume, which will make it possible for many of our schools to introduce the laboratory method in the teaching of history, and will ultimately enable us to develop a system of correspondence schools for children in outlying districts. A statement of the status of our work with regard to the publication of manuscripts follows:

Manuscripts Published

Since the last meeting of the Conference, the following new publications have appeared:

1. "In the Land of Kings and Prophets," a Bible Reader, Pupils Book, by Rabbi Jacob D. Schwarz, covering the period from the Division of the Kingdom to 586 B. C. E. This is the fourth in our series of Bible Readers.
2. "In the Days of the Second Temple," a pupil's text book covering the period from 586 B. C. E. to 70 C. E., by Dr. Jacob S. Golub.
3. "The Burning Bush," stories from Jewish folk lore, by Joseph Gaer.
4. "Methods of Teaching the Jewish Subjects," a syllabus in mimeograph form, by Dr. Emanuel Gamoran. This is the first of a series on this subject and deals with the teaching of the Bible.
5. "Dreambook," a Hanukkah play, by Henry Woolf.
6. "The End of the Story," a Hanukkah play, by Mrs. Fannie B. Linsky.
7. "A Purim Tale"—a Purim play, by Henry Woolf.
8. "Merry Purim," a Purim play, by Henry Woolf.
9. "A Purim Fantasy," a Purim play, by Mrs. Fannie B. Linsky.
10. "The Counting of the Days," a play for Lag b'Omer, by Mrs. Fannie B. Linsky.

Manuscripts in Press

The following manuscripts are now in press and will be placed upon the market as soon as they are published:

1. "Assembly Programs for Jewish Schools," by Mrs. Emma Ehrlich Levinger.
2. "The Sabbath Angel," a play by Mrs. Fannie B. Linsky.
3. "The Happy New Year," a play by Mrs. Fannie B. Linsky.

Manuscripts in Hands of Authors for Revision

The following manuscripts have been accepted and are now in the hands of authors for revision:

1. "A Project in American Jewish History," by Rabbi Solomon A. Fineberg.
2. "History of the Jews in the United States," by Dr. Lee J. Levinger.

A number of manuscripts are still in the hands of committees, and still others are in preparation by the authors. Some of these include: Bible Stories for Children six and seven years old, by Miss Lenore Cohen: "Israel in Canaan," by Dr. Jacob S. Golub; a Teacher's Book, covering the period from the Division of the Kingdom to 586, by Mr. Samuel Zaretski; and others. In addition to the above manuscripts, which have been acted upon by the various subcommittees of the Commission on Jewish Education, there are a number of others that were examined and after due consideration rejected by the Commission and returned to their authors.

Teachers' Associations

Realizing that our educational program will advance along with the better preparation of our religious school teachers, the Commission has directed its attention toward strengthening the Teachers' Associations now in existence and organizing new ones where possible. To this end an association of teachers in San Francisco and vicinity was organized and met a few days in advance of the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. About 150 teachers and laymen were present. Professors Morgenstern and Cronbach and Dr. Gamoran delivered addresses at this Convention.

A new association to include Maryland, the District of Columbia and Virginia is in process of organization. Rabbi Egelson visited Baltimore and Richmond, conferred with the rabbis and secured their cooperation. Dr. Calisch has consented to have the first meeting in Richmond during the Thanksgiving holidays. A program for that meeting is now being prepared.

Rabbi Egelson also visited Hartford, Conn., where he conferred with Rabbi Feldman on the program of the New England Teachers' Association: Syracuse, N. Y., to discuss with Rabbi Friedman the program for the Great Lakes Teachers' Association; Chicago, Ill., to secure the cooperation of the rabbis for the meeting in the Fall of the Midwestern Teachers' Association; Pittsburgh, Pa., to confer on the

program and arrange to have Pittsburgh take the meeting of the Pennsylvania Teachers' Association during Thanksgiving. He also met with Rabbi Bernard Heller of Scranton, Pa., the president of the association, and formulated with him plans for the next meeting.

Under the auspices of the Commission on Jewish Education, Dr. Gamoran has continued during the past year to cooperate with teachers' groups and associations in stimulating further study on the part of their members. In August, 1928, he addressed the summer school arranged for the teachers of Philadelphia, on the Curriculum of the Sunday School. In November, 1928, he delivered a series of three lectures at the southwestern Chautauqua in Houston, Texas. He also addressed the teachers of Kansas City, under the auspices of the Temple Jehudah; the teachers of Los Angeles, under the auspices of Temple B'nai B'rith; and the teachers of Temple Emanuel in Denver, Colo. We also participated through sending Dr. Gamoran to deliver a series of three addresses in Harrisburg and vicinity. This series of lectures was arranged by Congregation Oheb Sholem.

Exhibits

Exhibits of Jewish education were also arranged through the cooperation of the Department of Synagog and School Extension, and sent to the United Parents' Association meeting in New York, to the Teachers' Convention in San Francisco, and to the convention of the National Council for Jewish Education in Boston.

Normal School Work

We have added a fourth syllabus to the three already published for Normal Schools. It deals with the teaching of the Bible and appeared in mimeograph form. It is the first of a series on "Methods of Teaching Jewish Subjects," and was prepared by Dr. Emanuel Gamoran. The syllabi previously published include: An Introductory Course in Education, by Dr. Emanuel Gamoran; a syllabus on Classroom Organization and Management, by Rabbi Jacob B. Pollak; and a syllabus on Educational Psychology, by Dr. Julius B. Maller.

Our study of the Normal School situation revealed that in 1928 there appeared to be 38 Normal Schools. Although these sometimes consisted of individual classes, the total registration of pupils was 895. Our syllabi are distributed to 92 purchasers, representing various groups and individuals. Many rabbis write us that they have been using these syllabi for their own guidance and discussion at teachers' meetings. We sincerely hope that many congregations will see their way clear to organizing Normal classes and will find it possible to pursue the minimum course for teacher-training published by the Commission, thus permitting their teachers to receive the national diploma to which they are entitled.

Meeting of the Commission on Jewish Education

Since the last meeting of the Conference, the Commission on Jewish Education had a meeting in Cincinnati on December 11th, 1928. Reports of Activities were submitted by the Secretary and the Educational Director. An important decision was reached at this meeting at the suggestion of Rabbi Baron with regard to urging the committee on Youth Education to work out plans for the preparation of a youth magazine to meet the needs of the young people connected with our congregations. Another important step was the decision of the Commission authorizing the officers of the Commission to engage experts in various phases of Jewish content and an English stylist to examine manuscripts whenever deemed necessary. Dr. Gamoran was also authorized, in cooperation with Dr. Maller, Rabbi Jacob B. Pollak, and our fellows in pedagogy at Teachers' College, to prepare a series of achievement tests on the Jewish subjects of instruction. An experimental edition of the first four tests has been printed.

Addition to Our Staff

Dr. Julius Maller, who has held one of our Fellowships in Pedagogy for the past two years, and who worked with the Character Education Inquiry of Teachers' College, Columbia University, has been added to our staff. He is now working on a book "The Psychology of the Jewish Child."

Fellowships

We are now maintaining six fellowships in education at Teachers' College, Columbia University. Three of these fellowships are provided by the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods and three by the Department of Synagog and School Extension. As these Fellows obtain their degrees we hope to nominate other men for the fellowships. Thus, in time, we hope to educate a body of men who will be able not alone to assume positions of importance in the educational work of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, but who will be able to fill the post of Director of Religious Education for many of the large congregations in the country that desire to have trained men in charge of their religious schools.

American Association on Religion in Universities and Colleges

Your Commission regrets that it has nothing further to report with reference to its cooperation with this organization. Our information indicates that the experiment being carried on at the Iowa School of Religion is progressing satisfactorily.

Your Commission is pleased to report that the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has generously voted an appropriation of $1,000.00 for the work of the American Association on Religion in Universities and Colleges.

Pre-University Work

At the last meeting of the Commission on Jewish Education the problems arising from the attitude of Jewish university students toward Judaism, were discussed in detail. We are informed by our regional rabbis that at some universities our men and women seem to develop an inferiority complex as soon as they come on to the campus and while they do not openly deny their Jewish affiliations, they hold themselves aloof, to some extent, from Jewish religious activities on the campus or in the vicinity of the campus.

While recognizing the seriousness of the problem your Commission has felt that some further study of the situation is necessary before bringing in a definite program to meet the present situation. We hope to give further consideration to this serious problem during the coming year and to be able to present some definite conclusions in our report at the next meeting of the Conference.

Commission on Research

Several years ago, Dr. Lee K. Frankel requested the Union to appoint a Commission on Research which has functioned as a sub-committee of the Executive Board for about two years. The Commission made a survey of the Jewish home and educational and synagogal background of the average American Jew. Within the last few months Dr. Frankel has been in correspondence with the Chairman of the Commission on Jewish Education suggesting that the two Commissions be united.

At the last meeting of the Executive Board of the Union this matter was brought up and authority was granted for such a combination.

In view of the fact that the Commission on Jewish Education has been engaged in the work of research, it seems to me that this combination will prevent a great deal of overlapping, as the fields of Jewish education and Jewish life are co-terminous. I brought this matter up at a meeting of the Commission, and the members were unanimous in their approval of this step.

Maximillian Heller

A great loss was suffered by the Commission in the passing of Maximillian Heller from our midst a few months ago. Devoted to the cause of Jewish Education, he gave faithful service during many years to the furtherance of our common task. His keen intellect helped grapple with difficult problems and his wise counsel was ever at the service of his colleagues. He will be greatly missed at future gatherings of the Commission. *Zecher zaddik librachah.*

Conclusion

Jewish Education appears now to have become a phrase to conjure

with in many circles. We seem to be entering upon a new phase in American Jewish experience, namely, an intensification of interest in religious education. The period of attendance at religious schools is constantly lengthening. Where ten years ago comparatively few congregations had a High School Department, provision for such a department is becoming more and more a feature in congregational activity. Some few congregations have gone even further and have added a collegiate class open to such young people as have graduated from their High School Department. There have also been sporadic attempts to form adult classes. Although the success attending the attempted inauguration of such classes here and there has not been particularly striking, still the effort is greatly worth while and if persisted in will doubtless be productive of some result.

The ideal toward the realization of which many of our religious schools are now striving, is to provide religious education for the children and the youth ranging from kindergarten to the collegiate class. Though only faint beginnings towards the complete consummation of this program are apparent still we are on the way. The Prophet's vision of the day when all the children of the people would be taught of the Lord, is also our vision and our hope. This is the gleam we are following. The progress will be slow, but if there be only some progress, however faint, we rest content. None of us is called upon to finish the work but neither may we refrain from doing our share. A Jewishly educated laity is our keen desire and our greatest need. We recall the phrase of the sage לא עם הארץ חסיד

The blind faith of ignorance has never been characteristic of Judaism. Our traditions are all bound up with the love of learning. In a line with these traditions is the present revival of interest in Jewish education.

As the years pass, your Commission on Jewish Education hopes to be able to report more and more indications that this revival is not a temporary spasm but is a real and lasting condition. In that hope I know that all of you, the members of our Conference, share. I bespeak your constant and continual help and encouragement in the great task in which we, as your representatives, are engaged.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman.*

The report was received and ordered printed in the Year Book.

The report of the Committee entrusted with the task of

raising money for the Tours Community Center was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON TOURS COMMUNITY CENTER

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: I beg to report that in response to two letters of appeal to all the members of the Conference, the following sum has been raised for the Tours Community Center: $286.50. The expenses were $19.35. Col. Bondy of Syracuse, who is now on his vacation, assured me that he will raise $100 in Syracuse.

The following communities responded:

David Alexander, Akron Ohio	$ 4.50
Solomon Bazell, Louisville, Ky.	10.00
Philip S. Bernstein, Rochester, N. Y.	10.00
Philip D. Bookstaber, Harrisburg, Pa.	5.00
Henry Cohen, Galveston, Tex.	10.00
H. G. Enelow, New York City	20.00
Leo Franklin, Detroit Mich.	10.00
Solomon B. Freehof, Chicago, Ill.	105.00
Ephraim Frisch, San Antonio, Tex.	11.00
David Lefkowitz, Dallas, Tex.	26.00
Theodore N. Lewis, Sioux City, Iowa	5.00
Felix A. Levy, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
Eugene Mannheimer, Des Moines, Iowa	15.00
M. J. Witman, Macon, Ga.	10.00
Joseph Rauch, Louisville, Ky.	10.00
Harry R. Richmond, Paducah, Ky.	5.00
David Rosenbaum, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
Leonard Rothstein, New York City	5.00
Louis I. Newman, San Francisco	10.00
	$286.50
Expenses	19.35
Net	$267.15

The appeal evidently did not meet with as general response, as I had expected, but then so many appeals are being made today that

one from a city in France, in spite of its merits, seemed too far away from home.

Respectfully submitted,
BENJAMIN FRIEDMAN, *Chairman*
ISRAEL BETTAN,
LOUIS I. EGELSON,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
JACOB B. KROHNGOLD,
HARRY R. RICHMOND.

The report was received and ordered printed in the Year Book, and it was moved and adopted that the money collected shall be sent to Rabbi Sommer.

FRIDAY EVENING

The Conference assembled at eight o'clock at Temple Beth El. The Evening Service for the Sabbath was read from the Union Prayer Book by Rabbi Philip F. Waterman. The Conference Lecture was delivered by Rabbi Samuel H. Goldenson. The Adoration and Kaddish were read by Rabbi Leon Fram. The Benediction was pronounced by Rabbi H. G. Enelow.

SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 29th

The Conference assembled for divine services at ten o'clock at Temple Beth El. The morning service for the Sabbath from the Union Prayer Book was read by Rabbi Alvin S. Luchs. The weekly portion from the Torah was read by Samuel Wohl. The Conference Sermon was delivered by Rabbi David Philipson. (Appendix B). The Adoration and Kaddish were read by Rabbi Abram Hirshberg. The Benediction was pronounced by Rabbi David Lefkowitz.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

A Round Table consisting of Reminiscences of their Several Administrations and Suggestions for the Future was conducted by the former Presidents of the Conference who were present, Rabbis Joseph Silverman, Joseph Stolz, David Philipson, Leo M. Franklin, Edward N. Calisch and Louis

Wolsey. Papers prepared by Rabbis William Rosenau and Abram Simon who were compelled to leave the convention before the presentation of their reminiscences were read by Rabbis Samuel M. Gup and Alvin S. Luchs.

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 29th

The Conference assembled at 10:00 at Temple Beth El with the President, H. G. Enelow, in the Chair.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Samuel R. Shillman.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was read by Rabbi Max C. Currick.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee begs leave to report the resolutions presented at this convention and its recommendations thereon:

I

The question of the advisability of the Central Conference of American Rabbis joining the League for Safeguarding the Fixity of the Sabbath having been referred to the Committee on Resolutions, the Committee reports the following Resolution:

Whereas, the religious convictions and observances both of Christians and of Jews require a fixed Sabbath; and

Whereas, the conveniences sought through the reform of the calendar may be had without destroying the regularly recurrent seven day week; and

Whereas, the League for Safeguarding the Fixity of the Sabbath has been organized with the objective of preserving the Sabbath; therefore,

Be it resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis ratify the action of the Executive Board in joining the League for Safeguarding the Fixity of the Sabbath and that it authorize the continuation of our membership therein for so long as, in the discretion of the Executive Board, it may be wise and necessary.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

II

Whereas, the last Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations appointed a committee on Synagog Architecture to collect plans and specifications of Temples for the benefit of congregations contemplating the building of new temples;

And whereas, this committee can be much aided by members of the Conference who have recently built new temples, therefore,

Be it resolved, that the Conference appoint a standing committee on Synagog Architecture which shall tender its offices to work in conjunction with a similar committee of the Union.

JOSEPH STOLZ,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
HENRY COHEN.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

III

Whereas, it is still the custom in smaller communities for Jewish merchants to close their stores on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, and

Whereas, the morale of these communities in carrying out this traditional custom is being destroyed by the development of chain stores and department stores in these cities, some of which are owned or controlled by Jews, therefore,

Be it resolved, that the Conference request the Synagog Council of America to investigate this subject and seek to induce the officers of these chain stores whose headquarters are in large Eastern cities that they instruct the managers of their local stores to close same on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and proceed so that it be effective for the Fall Holy Days.

MARTIN ZIELONKA,
G. GEORGE FOX,
EUGENE MANNHEIMER,
JEROME MARK,
ABRAM SIMON,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ.

Your Committee recommends the following resolution in place of the one submitted:

The Central Conference of American Rabbis deplores the growing tendency of Jewish merchants with local and national connections to violate the sanctity of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur by keeping their stores open. We, therefore, call upon all Jewish merchants, wherever located, to observe our holidays by closing their stores on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

At the same time we ask the Synagog Council representing all

groups in Israel to give further study to the subject and to devise ways and means to carry this resolution into effect.

This resolution, prepared by the Committee, was adopted.

IV

Resolved, that whenever changes in program are made following the publication of the tentative program, all members, the time for whose participation in the program may be affected by the change, shall be notified as far in advance of the Conference meeting as may be possible.

LEO M. FRANKLIN,
SAMUEL WOHL,
HENRY J. BERKOWITZ,
PHILIP F. WATERMAN,
LOUIS J. KOPALD,
HENRY ENGLANDER,
EDWARD L. ISRAEL,
EUGENE MANNHEIMER,
MARTIN ZIELONKA,
ISAAC LANDMAN,
ABRAM SIMON,
LOUIS BINSTOCK,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

The Committee concurs in the spirit of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Board for proper action.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

V

Whereas, the report of the Treasurer indicates that the interest from the Relief Fund Investments is at present at least $8,000, and that the sum will be increased annually, and

Whereas, the total of requisite pensions is more than met by the present condition of our Treasury, therefore,

Be it resolved, that the Committee on Solicitation of Funds be discontinued, to be revived whenever conditions require its restoration.

ABRAM SIMON,
DAVID PHILIPSON,
EDWARD L. ISRAEL,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF.

Your Committee does not concur in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

For discussion, see page 121.

VI

Resolved, that the time has come for a thorough-going revision of both volumes of the Union Prayer Book and that the Conference request the Committee on Liturgy to take this into consideration in its joint meeting with the committee to be appointed by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

SAMUEL WOHL,
SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN,
SAMUEL S. MAYERBERG,
A. J. FELDMAN,
GEORGE FOX,
SOL LANDMAN,
LOUIS E. GRAFMAN,
J. KROHNGOLD,
JOSEPH BARON,
JAMES HELLER,
BARNET R. BRICKNER,
EDWARD L. ISRAEL,
I. HARBURG,
MAURICE H. HARRIS,
LOUIS J. KOPALD,
S. H. GOLDENSON,
BERNARD HELLER,
LOUIS BINSTOCK.
EMIL LEIPZIGER,

Your Committee unanimously concurs in this resolution and the Committee suggests, as a necessary preliminary to any revision, that the incoming officers appoint a number of members of the Conference to make studies of the various aspects of the problem of the revision of the prayer book and to present the results of their studies to the next meeting of the Conference. In addition your Committee suggests that a questionnaire be sent to each member of the Conference to ascertain explicitly the opinion of the members of the Conference as to the details of the revision of the prayer book.

The recommendations of the Committee were adopted.

For discussion, see page 123.

VII

Resolved, Inasmuch as the Central Conference of American Rabbis is not an academic educational institution, the Conference does not approve of the recent action of the Executive Board to have the names of the academic institutions recorded after every degree, as this overburdens the directories of members and makes invidious distinctions.

JOSEPH STOLZ,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
HENRY COHEN.

Your Committee does not concur in the spirit of this resolution.

An amendment was offered and duly seconded that the academic degrees be published in the Year Book as at present without the addition of the institutions from which they were secured, but that the Recording Secretary secure a complete list of all degrees with the institutions conferring them and that this list be kept on file in the office of the Secretary. A substitute motion that no academic degrees from secular institutions be printed in the year book was offered but was lost. The amendment that the degrees only be printed in the Year Book but that a complete list of institutions be kept on file in the Secretary's office was carried.

VIII

Be it resolved, that the Conference recommend to the incoming Executive Board the wisdom of considering the abolition of the Committee on Contemporaneous History.

Abraham J. Feldman,
Louis Wolsey,
Leo M. Franklin,
Isaac Landman,
Abram Simon,
Edward N. Calisch,
Henry J. Berkowitz.

Many members of the Conference derive great benefit from the reports of the Committee on Contemporaneous History. The Committee does not approve of the resolution, but recommends that the incoming Executive Board instruct the next Committee on Contemporaneous History to make its report less extensive than those of the previous years have been.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

IX

Resolved, that a committee be appointed by the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for the purpose of conducting a survey to ascertain the character and number of Jewish reference works in the libraries of state universities and colleges and suggesting to the next Conference the means by which suitable Jewish source books may be placed in the respective state universities and colleges.

Samuel S. Mayerberg,
Israel Bettan,
Leon I. Feuer.

The Committee heartily approves of the project, but believes that this task is within the province of the Department of School and Syn-

agog Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and recommends that the Department of Synagog and School Extension be requested to undertake it.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

X

Be it resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis favor the excavation of an historical Jewish site in Palestine under its auspices and in conjunction with the Hebrew University in the established manner in which that institution cooperates with organizations in such work; and furthermore, that it instruct the Executive Board to devise means whereby sufficient funds may be made available for the proper conduct of such an excavation.

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
NELSON GLUECK,
SHELDON H. BLANK,
SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
SOL B. FINESINGER,
SAMUEL S. COHON,
BERNARD J. BAMBERGER,
MARTIN FRIEDMANN.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

XI

Be it resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis establish a quarterly journal of Jewish Religion and Ethics and that the incoming Executive Board be instructed to devise ways and means for the establishment of this project.

BERNARD HELLER,
VICTOR E. REICHERT,
MAX C. CURRICK,
DAVID ROSENBAUM,
SIDNEY REGNER,
JAMES G. HELLER,
SOL. LANDMAN.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

XII

Whereas, there has been introduced into the United States Congress, at the request of the War Department, a Bill which provides for the

registration of all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 for military duty; and

Whereas, this bill further provides for the call to arms of such registrants whenever Congress or the President of the United States deems it necessary; and

Whereas, such a Bill, if enacted, would virtually create a large standing army in time of peace.

Be it resolved, by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, that such an act by Congress would be in violation of the spirit of our democratic traditions and of American leadership in international peace.

And be it further resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis go on record protesting against such an act, calling upon the members of the United States Congress to defeat the bill whenever it may come up for action on the floor of the United States Congress.

David Lefkowitz,
Edward L. Israel,
Sidney E. Goldstein,
Philip W. Jaffa.

Your Committee concurs in the spirit of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

XIII

Resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in Convention assembled, recognize the importance of the revival of the Hebrew language and literature and urge upon its members to support the Hadoar, the only Hebrew periodical published in America.

Morris Lazaron,
James G. Heller.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

XIV

Whereas, the Executive Board and the Conference have already voted to subscribe for five sets of the projected work by Dr. Isidore Singer on "The Classics of Reform Judaism";

Therefore be it resolved, that the members of the Conference en-

courage this great literary enterprise by subscribing for the set and by encouraging others in their communities to do the same.

ABRAM SIMON,
MAX C. CURRICK,
SAMUEL S. COHON,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
JAMES G. HELLER,
SOL LANDMAN,
VICTOR E. REICHERT,
EUGENE BLACHSCHLEGER.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

XV

Whereas, the danger of war creates an emergency situation challenging the members of the Conference in carrying out their desires for peace,

Be it resolved, that the Conference instruct the Committee on Peace to make a study of emergency procedures for the Conference in the event of war, or of its imminency, and to make appropriate suggestions for such procedure to the next annual Conference.

MITCHELL SALEM FISHER,
LOUIS BINSTOCK,
G. GEORGE FOX,
LOUIS J. KOPALD,
EDWARD ISRAEL.

Inasmuch as the Conference has clearly stated its position on the subject of peace and as the officers of the Conference can always call a special meeting in case of an emergency or at the request of the required number of members, the Committee does not rcommend any action.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted. A motion to non-concur was lost.

XVI

Whereas, in January, 1930, the League of Nations will celebrate its tenth anniversary, and

Whereas, a nation-wide committee is being formed properly to present, through an educational and historical program, the achievements of the past decade in promoting international cooperation, and

Whereas, the Central Conference has been invited to appoint a representative on the general committee, therefore

Be it resolved, that the Executive Board be instructed to appoint a representative on this committee and to notify the chairman, Mr. George W. Wickersham, of New York City.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

XVII

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, convinced that freedom of conscience is a fundamental and inalienable right of the individual, expresses its profound regret that the United States Supreme Court (by a majority decision) and certain District Federal Courts have declared that applicants for citizenship who refuse to bear arms in defense of the country are ineligible to citizenship in the United States.

Sidney E. Goldstein,
David Lefkowitz,
Edward L. Israel,
Louis Binstock,
Solomon B. Freehof,
Bernard Heller,
Victor E. Reichert,
Ephraim Frisch,
Philip S. Bernstein,
Sheldon H. Blank,
Louis J. Kopald,
Jacob P. Rudin,
Morton M. Berman.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be concurred in.

An amendment that the Central Conference of American Rabbis approve the position taken by Justices Holmes and Brandeis in their minority report was lost.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Rabbis Foster and Charles S. Levi asked that their vote be recorded in the negative.

XVIII

The recently organized Jewish Academy of America has planned a program of scholarly research and publication, which must naturally greatly enlarge the service and enhance the influence and credit of Jewish scholarship in America. To carry out its program it is endeavoring to secure a minimum annual income of Ten Thousand Dollars.

Be it resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis manifest its good will towards the Jewish Academy of America, and

its interest in its work by an annual subvention of Five Hundred Dollars.

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
EDWARD L. ISRAEL,
JOSEPH L. FINK,
JOSEPH RAUCH,
ABBA HILLEL SILVER,
FELIX A. LEVY.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Board.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

XIX

Authentic reports have come to America of the unfortunate condition in which the five Jewish Theological Seminaries of the Continent, viz: the two in Berlin, and those of Breslau, Vienna and Budapest, and also the Gessellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, now find themselves owing to lack of financial resources. The plight of the Seminary at Vienna is particularly desperate. Unless help to the amount of $5000 a year for a period of five years be provided for it, it will be compelled very soon to close its doors permanently and to leave the eminent scholars who constitute its faculty, the majority of them well advanced in years, with no means of support. Certainly long established institutions of learning and founts of Jewish scholarship should be enabled to continue their fruitful labors before new and individual enterprises, worthy though they be, are fostered.

Be it therefore resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis express its sympathy with the aforenamed institutions and instruct the incoming Executive Board to provide subventions for them, in accordance with a system governing the award of subventions to be devised by it, and as large as the resources of the Conference will permit.

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
EDWARD L. ISRAEL,
JOSEPH L. FINK,
JOSEPH RAUCH,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Board.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Respectfully submitted,
Max C. Currick, *Chairman*
Eugene Blachschleger,
Samuel M. Gup,
Bernard Heller,
James G. Heller,
Solomon Landman,
Edward L. Israel,
Sidney L. Regner,
Victor E. Reichert,
David Rosenbaum.

The report as amended was adopted as a whole.

DISCUSSION

Resolution V—On Solicitation of Funds

Rabbi Morgenstern: I do not believe that this committee should be discontinued. The Conference has in the last two years, largely under the initiative of the President of the Conference, who deserves much praise for his vision in this matter, undertaken the support of various activities making for Jewish scholarship. Its resources for such subsidies are entirely too small. If the Conference could apply a certain portion of its funds, which now go into the Relief Fund, to the maintenance of these other activities, of extreme importance to the Rabbinate and to Jewish scholarship in general, we will probably have solved one very difficult problem, and will have taken a constructive step forward. I believe it would be well to refer to the incoming Executive Board the question of devising some plan by which some portion of the funds which now accrue to the Conference from interest and other sources might be applied to the support of Jewish educational and scholarly activities.

Rabbi Joseph Stolz: It is quite true that the income of our Relief Fund has this year again exceeded the expenditure; but if you will take into consideration that this very day your Relief Committee determined to recommend to the in-

coming Executive Board that one new pension be added to the growing list and that three of the old pensions be substantially increased, you will appreciate how fortunate it is that there is a surplus at our command to be applied to our growing needs.

Moreover, it is statesmanlike to anticipate at this time the certain needs of the future. Our members are growing older. A goodly number is approaching nearer to the inevitable age of disability and retirement. In the natural course of events, more applications for relief will come from year to year and we ought to be prepared for the emergency.

Besides, the 25 or 30 new rabbis that are graduated annually from our three Seminaries will, as a matter of course, displace more and more older men, some of whom will inevitably be under the necessity of applying for relief.

And furthermore, if the Synagog Pension will be adopted by the congregations, it is bound to happen that, through the natural misfortunes of life, some of our men will be unable to pay their allotment of the premium and be thrust upon our resources, lest they fall into decay.

For these reasons it is most important that we continue to accumulate a reserve fund; and I am of the opinion that it would be a most unwise procedure to scrap at this time the machinery of collection which we have built up so arduously and successfully, and to abandon at this juncture a plan by which we have not only accumulated a goodly sum but, what is even more important, have gradually educated our congregations and members to the willing fulfillment of a work of religious duty.

Rabbi Shillman: I, too, feel that we ought to continue to raise these funds. I hope it has given everyone as much pleasure as it has given me to solicit these funds for our superannuated rabbis, their widows and their orphans. It would be far better to give a larger pension to the recipients of these funds, many of whom I am sure could use a little more than they are receiving.

Resolution XVII—Freedom of Conscience

Rabbi James G. Heller: There is a feeling which has become current in the United States that it is wrong to disagree with the Supreme Court or with the President of the United States. Any American citizen or any group of American citizens is entirely at liberty to express its agreement or disagreement of the opinion of the Supreme Court just as Justices Holmes and Brandeis have done. It seems to me there is a great issue at stake which ought very seriously to concern us as leaders of religious thought. It is a question of freedom of conscience. Is the fealty of the citizens of this country due primarily to the constitution or to God? If there are people in this country like the Quakers or the Mennonites, who believe that they cannot, without violating everything which they hold most sacred, take up arms, shall they be compelled by force to do so? This country has hitherto taken the attitude that members of the sects were excused from bearing arms. It is now reversing that position and I believe there is a very important principle involved. I am not going on record as siding with Madame Schwimmer or Professor MacIntosh, because I believe that under certain circumstances a citizen ought to take up arms, but I believe they should have a right to their opinion and still be eligible to citizenship in the United States.

Resolution VI—Revision of Union Prayer Book

Rabbi Philipson: I would like to ask, does this debate today involve the question of the Revision of the Prayer Book?

Rabbi Enclow: That is not involved now. What is provided for now is deliberation and study and conference. The results of all this will have to be presented in due time to a Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Rabbi Philipson: If this motion carries, are we in any way committed to a Revision of the Prayer Book?

Rabbi Enelow: If this resolution carries, it seems to the Chair that the Committee on Liturgical Literature is ad-

vised what the present state of mind of the Conference on this subject is; namely, this Convention feels that a thoroughgoing revision of the Prayerbook is wanted and because it feels as it does, it refers the subject to a special committee for study. The results of this study and of the conference with the group of the Union will naturally be presented—perhaps to the next Convention of the Conference. On the basis of that presentation, the Conference will have an opportunity of deciding definitely what is to be done.

Rabbi Currick: Your Committee felt that the Revision of the Prayer Book will necessarily be a not very rapid undertaking. It will not be done this year or next year—it will be a work that will require a great deal of study and we felt that while this work was going on that the Conference should be informed in scholarly papers of the results of a study of one or another aspect of the defects of the Prayer Book.

Rabbi Frisch: I want to disabuse your minds of the thought that those of us who are urging revision are more or less irresponsible and do not know what we want. We are conscious of the great Jewish background of the Prayer Book. We are duly appreciative of many of the fine virtues of the present book. There are beautiful Pre-Kaddish prayers, beautiful meditations—it was a great improvement on the old Prayer Book. But in spite of the improvements, we are still thoroughly dissatisfied and so is the laity. I am not one of those who thinks that the work can be finished in a year but we ought to begin sympathetically and begin at once. The old theology in the Prayer Book is not satisfactory. Whenever I read about "Thy People" again and again in the same paragraph, I wince. We have been chosen by Divine Providence but there are other people in the world and we want to take them into the reckoning in our Prayer Book. When we speak of Goel Yisroel 'Redeemer of Israel'—a beautiful passage and a beautiful conception—we should also remember the redemption of humanity. We are not the only ones who have enjoyed redemption. Whenever I

read of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, I would like to include an allusion to Isaiah and to Amos. I want to think of God rather in the way that Gabirol thinks of him in his Keser Malchus; it is very beautiful and it is Jewish. We might use some of the sentiment of the poem or rephrase it in prose so that we will have a really noble conception of God. And then again I believe that many of the Psalms which have been chosen for responsive reading show confusion between antique and antiquated. When we have to read about unicorns and things of that kind where we have to go to a dictionary to find out what the word means; when we have Haftorah passages in which there are lingering recollections of the plagues, it shows an attitude of mind which is out of accord with the spirit of our age. It is true that we cannot cure the indifference and lack of prayerfulness among our people through a revision of the Prayer Book. It may be true that many of our people do not want to pray but there are some who do and they should be helped so that they can do it in a spirit that voices the aspirations of our time and of a Judaism that is in harmony with it.

Rabbi James G. Heller: The proposition of this resolution is not nearly as radical as it appears. The San Francisco Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations resolved to appoint a committee of five to meet with a similar committee of the Conference to consider revision of the Union Prayer Book. Please note that the present resolution does not ask our Committee to undertake the work of revision at once. As I understand it, it merely asks that our Committee meet with that to be appointed by the Union, for the purpose of discussing the question of and the problems of revision. The Committee should then return to the Conference with a report embodying the results of these joint deliberations. This report, together with studies to be made within the Conference, will then be taken up for discussion before the next Convention, at which time the final policy will be decided upon.

Let me state why I believe this resolution to be necessary. No more important question than that of revision

is before the Conference, and none that has been more thoroughly or lengthily aired. It is not correct, in my opinion, that the prayer-book was revised ten years ago. The revision was purely verbal, of the first volume at least. There has been no genuine, no thoroughgoing revision since the prayer-book was written. If I sense the feeling of the Conference now, the overwhelming majority of its members favor a thoroughgoing revision. Moreover, the intent of the resolution involves the appointment of a Committee on Liturgy of this Conference, which shall be in sympathy with the intent of the resolution.

If we are to confer with the laymen who brought this matter up at San Francisco and who gave strong expression to their opinion that the prayer-book needs revision, we ought to meet them with sympathy and understanding. This can be done only by a Committee that understands the feeling of the Conference.

I believe, furthermore, that we ought not let the matter remain in the realm of generalities. A large number of us have slowly come to the conviction that the prayer-book needs revision in many ways. In the first place, the theology of the Union Prayer Book must be brought up to our own opinions; it is far behind the times. In the second place, the prayer-book does not utilize the large mass of traditional Jewish material of the Siddur as fully or as wisely as it might. In the third place, the prayer-book seems monotonous to many; it is deficient in variety and stereotyped in style and thought. In the fourth place, the literary style of the prayer-book sheds no lustre on Reform Judaism in America. I believe that it is our duty to devote the most careful study to the prayer-book, and to pay attention to the just criticisms leveled against it; that we ought to exert ourselves to square it with our own religious concepts, and to make it as effective an instrument as possible for bringing Jewish youth into the Jewish fold.

Rabbi Freehof: I believe we are all agreed that some revision of the Union Prayer Book should be made but we disagree as to where the revision should be made, what the

nature of the revision should be and what form of a Prayer Book we want. What we lack most is detailed knowledge of what is at fault in our Prayer Book. We cannot get that knowledge in a systematic way unless we definitely search for it. The logical thing for us to do is to make a study of the various opinions of the members and from this study decide just what kind of a revision the members desire.

While the word thoroughgoing is a definite word and the word revision is also definite, nevertheless the motion is not sufficiently clear. It is quite possible that the Conference may decide in favor of a thoroughgoing revision and yet after its decision the Conference may remain uncertain as to what is really meant. One member of the Conference states that he is in favor of so revising the content of the Prayer Book that we shall have more traditional material and much less new material; another states that he is in favor of revising so that we may have less traditional material and more new material; one states he is opposed to the theological emphasis, another states the theology is not clear enough.

We will make no progress in revising the Prayer Book unless we know specifically and from as many members of the Conference as it is possible to reach exactly what they want the revision to consist of,—as to its theology, its content, its structure. I believe, therefore, that a questionnaire should be sent out to members containing such questions as: Are you in favor of a revision of the Prayer Book? Do you believe that traditional material should be increased or decreased? Give details. Are you in favor of changing the theological contents of the Prayer Book? In what way?

If such an inquiry was sent out and we received very few answers, we might learn from the very paucity of the answers that our annual excitement is just convention excitement and that the members are not sufficiently interested in a revision of the Prayer Book to take the trouble to record their opinions. On the other hand I am rather certain that we are all so earnest about the improvement

of the Prayer Book that such a mode of inquiry would bring us most valuable results.

Let us try to find out specifically and in detail from as many members as we can exactly what the Conference believes about the revision of the Prayer Book. I believe that the Committee appointed should circularize the members of the Conference and ascertain explicitly and in detail what they desire in a Union Prayer Book; that this Committee should make a study of the results and present to the next year's convention such a statement as it is able to draw up of the opinion of the Conference on the Union Prayer Book.

Rabbi Lazaron: Our purpose in presenting this resolution is to place our Conference definitely on record as desiring a revision of the Prayer Book. Many of us feel that the majority of the present Liturgical Committee does not look with favor upon revision and will let the matter of revision die in Committee. We want to prevent this. The passage of this resolution constitutes a mandate from the Conference to the Liturgical Committee that it desires revision. In the second place the resolution asks that studies be made preliminary to any revision. We do not wish to rush in and revise the Prayer Book speedily or superficially. The revision might not take place for some years. It must be an intelligent and thoroughgoing affair. What form it will take we do not know. This will depend upon the result of the studies. But that we do wish a revision and studies looking toward a revision—this we know. And we wish the Liturgical Committee when it meets with the laymen's committee to carry the message of the Conference: The Conference desires revision.

Rabbi Magnin: For three reasons I believe it would be ill-advised to revise the Prayer Book at this time. Any Prayer Book that we publish will not please all the rabbis or even most of them. Whenever we convene we will always find something in it that we do not like, or that does not suit the individual's taste. In the second place, the new Prayer Book is not going to suit our congregations any more

than this one. In the third place—and here I speak most frankly, I believe the chief trouble with the Prayer Book is that we do not know how to read it properly. There is an art of reading a Prayer Book just as there is an art of preaching. They are two separate arts and any Prayer Book we adopt is of no value unless the reader interprets it with a sense of beauty and poetry and based upon a natural gift and an acquired technique of interpretation. The danger lies in the fact that we announce to the world that we are opposed to this book and then we will publish another to which we will also be opposed.

There are some objectionable passages in our Prayer Book; I have eliminated one or two of them and changed a few words here and there, but I don't have to go to a Liturgical Committee or bring the matter up at a convention. There is no occasion for it. Nobody ever questions these changes. I am sure that a new Prayer Book will not bring anyone to the Temple who stays away today. What we need is not so much quibbling and arguing on phraseology but a fine Jewish spiritual interpretation of the present text. However, I can see no possible objection to Rabbi Freehof's amendment. Let us have a committee make a thorough survey. Let us obtain suggestions from the men and gather them together and if found expedient make some changes. What I personally object to is for the Conference to go on record as being opposed to the present Prayer Book. We have no substitute to offer the public for a Prayer Book which we ourselves have discountenanced and opposed publicly and from which we shall be compelled to read for a long time to come.

Rabbi Bernard Heller: I am the last one to affirm that the Union Prayer Book is perfect. Its weaknesses and defects are many. Its authors, I know, were not always judicious in the inclusion and omission of traditional prayers. Its theology is in many instances antiquated. It is too closely linked with the notions of Hegel and the deists of the 18th and 19th centuries. The ethical and social ideals which it reflects fall below those of today. Its style and language

are not always as literary as they might be. In technique it is very imperfect, in that it affords very little opportunity for congregational participation. All this needs to be improved. We must however remember that the correction will not solve the problem. The modern Jew has lost the art and desire for prayer. Even if we could or should succeed in composing or compiling a set of prayers which would outrival the Psalter—it, of itself, will not bring the Jew to his knees. We must first plant in his mind the conviction that God is an objective reality. (I emphasize this because there is a tendency among many so-called modern Jewish thinkers to relegate God to the background). We are told to adhere to the ways and life of Judaism not because they emanate from or lead to a proper perception and appreciation of God, but because they represent the ethnic *mores* of our people. A Godless Judaism is insufficient and uninspiring. It represents not only a perversion but also a degradation of the traditional motive and meaning. It is not religion but racialism. If the Jew is to acquire again the art of prayer, he must not only feel that God *is* but also that God is a Divine and Infinite *personality.* This does not mean that he must believe necessarily that God is endowed with the attributes and limitations of man. It means that he must cultivate in his heart the faith that God is something more than a mere inanimate principle—such as energy or force. God must be to him a Being endowed with consciousness—and the power to receive and to respond (if He so wills) to his solicitations and aspirations. A man is not wont to pray to blind energy or force for the same reason that he is not inclined to applaud a Vitaphone production.

Rabbi Goldenson: Indirectly my congregation is responsible for precipitating this discussion. Some months ago the Board of Trustees of my Congregation passed a resolution requesting the Central Conference of American Rabbis to consider a revision of the Prayer Book. It will interest you to know that they passed this resolution when I was not present. They knew however how I felt about the

Prayer Book and about the need of revising it. It is important to know that the men who considered that question in our Board meeting are some of the ablest and most sincere Jewish laymen that I have met thus far in my ministry. They are very much in earnest about it. There is a short history behind it. When I came to Pittsburgh the congregation was using three prayer books. It used the Einhorn Prayer Book, a special atonement memorial service prepared by J. Leonard Levy, and a Sunday service prepared by Dr. Levy. I found none of these prayer books satisfactory and in the third year of my ministry in Pittsburgh I introduced the Union Prayer Book. Ever since the introduction of the Union Prayer Book there have been quite a number of our members who have not been satisfied with it. Possibly they were attached to the older prayer book. Possibly on that account they felt freer to study the new prayer book objectively. During the last two years the feeling about this book has grown very strong. I find on Sunday mornings that there are hundreds of members who prefer to stay away until the prayers have been read. They wait until two or three minutes before the sermon time and then they flock in. They have talked to me personally about it again and again. This is the situation we find in Pittsburgh. I know perfectly well that we will never write a prayer book that will satisfy all the members of my congregation, or the members of this body. But let us understand that there are two kinds of dissatisfaction with a prayer book. There is a dissatisfaction that has to do with the way we say things that we want to say, that we do not say them in poetic enough form, in language inspiring enough. Now there is another kind of dissatisfaction, more basic and more fundamental, a dissatisfaction with the things said, not with the form, not with the quality, not with the spirit, but with the content. I find that our prayer book for instance, gives voice to conceptions of God and of Israel that most of us have outlived. We often find in our book the description of a jealous people praying to a jealous God. There are repeated references to an exclusive people. I feel quite out of

sympathy with this reiteration of a special, exclusive, monopolistic connection with God. Then we talk about the Sabbath as if we actually observed the Sabbath. It is a question of downright honesty, a question of sincerity.

When I turn to the atonement prayer book I find the psychology as childish as anything I know. We go to the service with more or less serious minds, we read prayers for hours and hours, repeating the same prayers over and over again in different language and after a good many members of the congregation have gone out and come back again we read with them or to them, "Now, O God, we have been purified; we are ready to go out into the world re-established in Thy mercy and love." What have we done during the day to deserve any such change of status in the spiritual world? It is childish performance and we have never believed any such thing. Our forefathers had an entirely different understanding of it. They introduced a whole month of preparation. They read the *Selichoth;* they fasted. We do nothing but come together and read prayers—we do not even read them sometimes—some are sung for us and the rest are read for us and then at five-thirty we say to God we feel we have been purified. I do not believe that this is rooted in any understanding of the psychology of the spiritual life. Now a number of the best laymen I know have brought these matters to our attention. I believe the least we can do as responsible interpreters of the moral and spiritual life is to say to these gentlemen: we will consider this matter seriously; we will immediately study it; not put it off and ask questions. There are certain things that cannot be considered on the basis of statistics. One earnest man has a right to consideration more than a hundred who give little or no thought to our religious problems. It depends upon the earnestness of the people who want things as to whether action should be taken and not upon the number of persons who may vote one way or the other in a perfunctory manner.

Rabbi Solomon Landman: I think this is a very important matter. Here are laymen who, in effect, are telling the

rabbis that the time has come to give them a satisfactory means of worship. It is not the first time in the history of Judaism that laymen have had a part in moulding religious thought. If I understand the history of liturgies correctly, these liturgies simply answer the demands of the changed conditions of the different periods of history. Today laymen are beginning to feel that Judaism as presented by the Union Prayer Book is inadequate for their spiritual needs, and they are asking the rabbis to take that factor into consideration. I think we might learn much from the laymen. From my own experience, I am inclined to think we know very little about what is going on in the spiritual lives of the people to whom we preach. Perhaps even they do not know exactly what they want. But the mere fact that they want a change is an important and significant thing. I am concerned with making these people Jews, chiefly through the effect that the liturgy might have on them—the ideology and the idealism of the liturgy. The liturgy has been an important factor in making Judaism what it is. It has been meaningful and significant in the lives of our people. It has supplied the force for the unification of Judaism quite as much, if not more so, than persecution of the Jews throughout the ages. I think the prayer book can still be made the primary Jewish influence in the lives of our people, as it has been in the past, if we will take into consideration the currents of thought and experience that are urging these young men and women—and older men and women, too— to demand a change. I think that we ought to anticipate whatever type of revolution this might be by trying to ascertain what is in their minds, and see if we can revise the liturgy so as to meet these new demands and ideas. This revision of the Prayer Book is not to be accomplished in a month or a year. It is going to be as long a task as the new translation of the Bible. If it is going to be done properly, it will be a five-year job at least. But I believe we ought to go on record as recognizing the need for, and favoring the revision of, our Union Prayer Book, and begin to take steps to meet the spiritual demands of

our people in this way. We will find Judaism spiritually bankrupt very soon unless we do.

Rabbi Feldman: A few years ago when Rabbi Frankel, of sainted memory, came to us as director of the Hillel Foundation and asked for a new prayer book for his boys and girls in the universities, I was one of those who was opposed to tampering with the prayer book. I felt then, and in a measure, I still feel that if we are to build up a religious sentiment and an intense religious life in our midst the prayer book should not be revised every few years. I rather believe in the wisdom of the past, of children growing up with the prayer book and having the ritual become the very warp and woof of their religious life. I know that some of the most precious moments in my life are associated with the old prayer book from which in the company of my sainted father I worshiped week in and week out. Yet in the last few years I have felt some of the discontent that some of you have voiced here. I have used the Union Prayer Book only in recent years. You know that for over five years I was associated with Dr. Krauskopf who had his own prayer book, and when I left Philadelphia it was a new experience for me to read from the Union Prayer Book. And though the Krauskopf book had faults and not a few, I had difficulties with the Union Prayer Book, difficulties that were spiritual, theological and linguistic. While many parts of the prayer book are sublime, there are too many others written in what I am tempted to call wooden English. It is heavy, prosaic, stilted. We enter the Synagog on *Kol Nidre* eve under the spell of a tremendous awe. We come to the service thrilled and the very first thing we find as we open the prayer book, after the first few pages, is an avalanche of impossible passages in the form of responsive readings. It seems as though the compilers went out of their way to find the most archaic passages in the Psalms to include in the ritual. People have come to me repeatedly—intelligent, devout people—and said, "Can't we have responses that will mean something instead of these passages which are utterly without meaning to us today." And

they are right. With all my love for the Psalms they do not uniformly represent the best material for responsive readings. Why be delimited by the Bible? There are some magnificent passages in the Apocrypha. Let us use them. There are fine passages in the subsequent literature of the Jew. Let us use those, too. If our fathers did not hesitate to include passages from the Mishnah and Gemara, why should we hesitate to use the ethical and inspirational passages out of that same literature? I feel that there ought to be a revision on this basis, to make our prayers reflect the religious aspirations of our people today. I do not wish to rephrase the prayers as I read, because the rephrasing arrests the attention of the congregation and condemns you and me because it makes them feel that the prayer book contains statements which we cannot ourselves accept. And so, much as I dislike tampering with the prayer book, I want my children to grow up and feel the fervor and intensity of prayer; I want them to have these things with them as they go through life, and our present ritual does not help in that respect.

I cannot see that there is any contradiction between the resolution and the motion. We are merely committing ourselves to the fact that we feel there is a need for revision; let us proceed to find out from each member of the Conference, if possible, what parts of the Prayer Book do not satisfy; to what elements we can no longer respond and after we have made this study we shall know how to proceed and what it is we want if we want it.

Rabbi Morgenstern: I speak upon this subject as a member of the former committee on Revision of the Prayer Book, the committee which brought the present book in its revised form into being. I speak in favor of further revision. The task of revising the Prayer Book took the committee seven years, and I am inclined to believe it did its work too rapidly. One fundamental mistake was made; we started out on the task with the instruction that the revising was to be not drastic but merely verbal. The entire work was guided by this principle. A much wiser procedure would have been to

spend a year or two or perhaps even three years in discussing the principles of revision in accordance with which this difficult task ought to have been conducted. There is no lack of reverence for our traditions or our religion or our Prayer Book in the proposal to revise the Union Prayer Book not merely now but perhaps again in ten or fifteen years from now. We are living in an age of extremely rapid change and transition. The ideas which most of us held ten or fifteen years ago are greatly modified today. The very name itself was changed from Reformed Judaism,—a term which implied finality— to Reform Judaism, implying a steady process of growth, progress and change. If we can do that we need not hesitate to change our Prayer Book, which is the expression of this growth and progress. In fact any other procedure would be illogical.

And the fact that after ten or twelve years another revision is proposed does not dismay me, because I assure you that not a single member of the former Revision Committee was one hundred percent satisfied with the previous revision. Nor am I dismayed by the prospect that even if we now revise the Prayer Book, and revise it this time in accordance with principles which are determined and established in advance that this Prayer Book will not satisfy everybody. For until we reach a static condition where everybody, young and old, believe the same thing and looks upon life in practically the same way, we cannot have a Prayer Book which will satisfy everybody.

We have gone forward so rapidly in these last ten years that our present book is outgrown, and if our Prayer Book is to voice our present day beliefs and aspirations, it is now time that we revise it and revise it thoroughly, but that we revise it carefully in accordance with principles previously established. I believe the amendment proposed by Dr. Freehof will expedite greatly the provisions of the original resolution, for in addition to the studies provided for in the resolution there will be a systematic attempt by a responsible committee to ascertain, not the hastily expressed beliefs thrown out on the floor of this Convention, but the

carefully thought-out opinions of the members as to the justification and need for revision. The questionnaire will bring together a great deal of valuable material which may well become the basis of the studies and work which this committee will undertake. If we begin promptly and if ten years from now we shall have a properly revised Prayer Book, I for one, shall feel content.

Rabbi Fineberg: I do not believe that going on record as favoring a revision of the prayer book will destroy the effectiveness of the book now in use, provided we are careful in our personal expressions of opinion when speaking to our own congregations. Whether or not our people shall retain respect for the present prayer book will depend upon our own utterances when speaking to them. Let us say that we are thoroughly committed to the task of revision but that we shall not hasten to complete the work until we have thoroughly investigated the subject.

There are certain psychological matters involved in this undertaking on which we lack knowledge. Many are of the opinion that a prayer book which has been used over and over again has special emotional appeal to us outweighing other considerations. They feel that the strength of the Orthodox Prayer Book lay in the fact that it had been used since childhood and had historic importance. This may not be the cause of their devotion. One may hear a prayer that is new to him and be profoundly stirred. One may hear another prayer that he has heard repeatedly and may not be moved thereby. It is imperative that we ascertain whether it is true that the Orthodox Prayer Book appealed to our fathers largely because they had used it over and over again. Perhaps we shall find that it was only because it expressed their sentiments, their hopes and their ideals that they used it over and over again. Such questions as this should be thoroughly studied in planning a revised prayer book.

Rabbi A. H. Silver: I have given considerable thought to the subject of the Prayer Book and it has occurred to me that we ought not as a matter of psychology to revise our

Prayer Book so frequently, even if certain objections to certain parts of the Prayer Book are discovered. One of the great values of a ritual is its unbroken continuity, the fact that in the course of time it gathers around itself a host of memories and associations which are stimulating and which surround the worshiper with an emotional atmosphere congenial to soul expression. Its very age contributes to its effectiveness; otherwise why have a ritual at all? There are denominations which have no rituals and which rely upon extemporaneous and improvised prayer. The tradition of the Jewish prayer book is quite the opposite of that. We have always believed in a ritual. What we should concern ourselves with is not the writing of new Prayer Books but the intensification, or the cultivation of the spirit of prayer among our people—the desire for prayer, the love of prayer. After all is said and done, the value of a prayer lies not so much in what the prayer says but in what the heart says through the medium of the prayer. I have vivid recollections of my mother taking up the old Psalms and reading them in Hebrew, weeping copious tears over them and receiving from them real soul-food and exaltation, although she understood very little of what the Psalms actually said for they were in Hebrew. I have seen people in churches where the whole service was in Latin and where they did not understand the meaning of the prayers at all, and yet they received more uplift and spiritual healing out of that service than many of us who read our cold, intellectual, perfectly proper and rationally correct prayers in our Prayer Book. It is not the Prayer Book which attracts people to worship. It is the people who want to worship, who have a desire to pray, who come to services. You are not going to save Reform Judaism or any other type of Judaism by Prayer Book revision. I am perfectly satisfied to have certain patently objectionable words eliminated. We have been eliminating them for some time. I have been substituting the word "worship" for the word "rest" in one of our Sabbath prayers for a long time. I have made other slight substitutions but I have not felt the need for a thoroughgoing revision of the

Prayer Book. The trouble is that we are living in an age which is avid for change. Any ritual which you will adopt, your people will tire of in five or ten years. They want novelty. They want their prayers changed as frequently as their movies are changed—a new bill every week. It is largely those who have lost the gift of prayer and the desire for prayer who demand a new Prayer Book every few years. This is an age which is clamoring for companionate marriages; let us not begin to clamor for companionate prayer books as well.

I should like to see a group of men representing the best minds in this Conference make a study of the entire subject over a period of years and then bring in their well considered findings to this body. I do not believe that we should allow ourselves to be driven into precipitate action because a group of laymen, meeting in convention and at the instigation of a few men expressed themselves in favor of a change in the Prayer Book. Let us make a thorough study of the whole subject. If as a result of these studies, we come to the conclusion that a thoroughgoing revision is necessary we shall then be warranted in taking such action. At the present time we are not in position to act. We should therefore not make a public declaration that we favor revision.

Rabbi Joseph Stolz: We have not at hand the information necessary to vote intelligently and honestly, at this session, for a thoroughgoing revision of the Prayer Book, which would be equivalent to an out and out discarding of the present ritual. The logical thing to do now would be to ascertain first what might be the existing grounds for dissatisfaction, if there be any; and then to decide upon the next step, to learn at the outset whether there is a demand for a verbal revision here and there, or for a radical revision along altogether new rubrics and according to a new theology. And after we possess this information, it would be our duty to ask ourselves honestly whether we, of a generation that is not pious and prayerful and lacks deep religious faith, are really capable of producing an entirely new ritual that will begin to give as general satisfaction to the pray-

ing portions of our congregations, as the Union Prayer Book has undoubtedly given to our devout members in the past.

It is easy enough for one to say we ought to have more Hebrew, even the whole Kol Nidre, and for another to ask for less Hebrew; for one to express admiration for the introduction to the Kaddish, and for another to abhor it, as happened last year upon the floor of our Conference. But such criticisms will get us nowhere, and never produce a better prayer book. Personally, I challenge this gathering to write a new service as devotional, as soulful, and as inspiring as it was our privilege to listen to in Temple Beth El yesterday morning. It is one thing to vote to abolish what we have, but quite another proposition to prepare something so decidedly better as to warrant broadcasting a vote of absolute disapproval of the book which is now used in over four hundred congregations and is found in tens of thousands of homes.

Some of the men who objected most strenuously upon this floor to the present Prayer Book were on the last revision committee and were assigned the task of writing new prayers. It is no secret that of the bundle of new prayers which they submitted for incorporation, not a single one was found worthy of acceptance, as submitted.

We were told upon this floor of some laymen in a certain city who were dissatisfied with our ritual. I can name a layman at least as eminent, intelligent and spiritual minded, Louis Marshall, who replied to my query: "I like the Union Prayer Book, all except the new Yom Kippur prayer on Social Justice."

Accordingly, it is my deliberate judgment that it would be most unwise to denounce the present ritual before the whole country without due consideration as to the possibility of a superior production; and that it would be sinful, before we ascertain what the criticisms really are, to proclaim broadcast that we ourselves had lost faith in our own handiwork, and are ready to undermine the authority of the most popular Jewish book ever produced in America, the book

that has really twined itself about the hearts of our people and lifted their souls heavenward.

Rabbi Louis Witt: I feel very deeply on this question and I am in favor of a very thoroughgoing revision. Because the Rabbis of old wrote for their generation which was their duty, it is our duty to write for our generation. A Prayer Book is the expression of the life of a people and the life of a people changes with the generations. It is because I feel that the Prayer Book does not express the life of the present generation that I am in favor of a thoroughgoing revision. I believe it is unfair to say that the motive behind the desire for a thoroughgoing revision is lack of devotion, that people who really love to pray should have no complaint about the present prayer book. I for my part, feel that the prayer book does not satisfy my devotional spirit. And there are thousands like me: I think we will be blind if we close our eyes to this simple fact. Instead of blaming our congregations for indifference and laxity, we ought to find out why there is indifference and try to meet it. There are earnest men and our most spiritual rabbis that are demanding this change. Let us realize that we have a serious problem and make every effort to solve it. I have for myself felt that the most central and most devotional part of our prayer book, the reading from the Torah, should have a place in our Friday evening service, which for most of us has become our main service. To most of our people the Torah is a hidden thing. I tried to fit it into the service and read it on Friday night but I found there was no room for it in the prayer book.

Rabbi Foster: The demand for a radical revision of the Prayer Book is unwise, if we consider the spiritual and emotional needs of our people who very properly refuse to subject the whole content of the religious life to cold logic. We have continually emphasized the need of the mystical element in Israel, we have continually appealed for more and more sentiment in Jewish life. We have tried to incorporate what we call the spiritual into our modern activities and now unconsciously some of the colleagues are trying

by mere logic and scientific measurements to build a ritual for our people. The first question we must answer for ourselves is, do we really want to stress the mystical and sentimental in Jewish life? If we do as I assume we must, then our approach to the problem must be reverent, quite different from the spirit which guides scientists in preparing a students' manual. If the ritual is to be brought up to date in every particular, if the modernistic point of view is to be introduced, we shall have an entirely different problem. The Prayer Book is not intended to preach sermons on the latest theory in economics but to stress the great principles that are everlasting. The sermons of the preachers can apply Jewish ideals and standards to present needs. We have written a Prayer Book for our present generation that has not lost its usefulness. Most of the complaints that I have heard about the Prayer Book came not from the people but from pessimistic leaders, some of whom are really not in sympathy with prayer at all. Some of our colleagues seem to have the wrong idea and think that the Prayer Book is an end in itself. It is but one of the opportunities which we should use to arouse the spirit of our people. The Prayer Book represents the best spiritual thought of Israel and we should not try to separate ourselves from the great body of Israel of the past. Instead of making the Prayer Book do stunts to please a Jazz age, let us rather evoke and nourish the spirit of reverence in our people by directing their attention to the eternal, the universal, the spiritual realities as far as we can discover and express them. An argument for either side of an industrial dispute, taking part in the debatable subject of birth-control, or such like, may be appropriate for a forum or a class room, but not for a Prayer Book.

Rabbi Bamberger: I believe that I have had an experience which has been the privilege of comparatively few members assembled here today. The Union Prayer Book was the only prayer book that I knew in childhood. Much has been said of the effect of association that should surround the prayer book to which you have been accustomed. I have undergone

that influence very definitely. There are many passages in the Union Prayer Book that are very dear to me and that I love very much and that I would hate to see removed from the prayer book. I want to pray and I want to teach my people the spirit of prayer. Many of the arguments that have been used in behalf of the Union Prayer Book would actually apply equally well to the traditional *Siddur.* We are not discussing whether we shall return to the traditional *Siddur.* It may have been possible for the people of a past generation to pray out of the Hebrew Psalm Book and weep although they did not understand it. That is a different thing from asking people to pray out of an English book which they do understand and expect them to feel inspired if the material does not touch their hearts. There are beautiful and inspiring and splendid passages in the Union Prayer Book. There are many other passages which are objectionable. There are many passages which could easily be improved by insertions or by additions from the traditional *Siddur.* Those who are proud of having emancipated Judaism from the fetters of a Shulchan Aruch three hundred years old should not be concerned about emancipating Judaism from a Union Prayer Book ten years old.

Rabbi Philipson: This matter of revising the Prayer Book is not as easy as it seems. I wish some of you had been on this Revision Committee of which I have been chairman for ten years. I think you would see that it is not so easy. You cannot write prayers to order; you cannot prepare the Prayer Book to order. Remember the Prayer Book is not the creation of the last ten or twenty years, it is the growth of a thousand years. Our Union Prayer Book rests upon the traditional *Siddur.* Of course if you are going to start something *de novo,* that is another thing, but if you want a Jewish Prayer Book that shall have a sequence and connection with the whole spirit of Judaism as expressed in the liturgy, that is another matter. You must know that this cannot be done with a turn of the hand. The trouble is that there is a spirit of unrest abroad. In the introduction of the book of Walter Lippman, A Preface to Morals, the statement

occurs "Whirl is King, Zeus is dethroned." You want a new Prayer Book, one that will express all the topics of today. This matter was brought up the last time when the Prayer Book was revised. A group was anxious for drastic revision but when they were asked to prepare prayers, of all that were submitted, the prayer on Social Justice was almost the only one that could be used.

There seems to be an undefined yet very distinct feeling on the part of some of the members of the Conference that the Committee on Liturgical Literature has a closed mind on the subject of revision. I can say for myself that if reasons are brought that seem to indicate that a revision should be made, I would be the last to oppose it. I have been in this matter of the prayer book for forty years. I know the whole development. I was secretary of the first committee back in the 90's. I was chairman of both revision committees. I should like to correct the statement made that the revision was only verbal. The book may not have been revised enough for some people but the revision was far more than verbal. New prayers were introduced; drastic changes were made in other prayers. There seems to be a strong feeling on the part of some for more revision. I know that there are very fine men who are advocating that revision from the laity and the rabbinate, but I am wondering whether we are not being swept off our feet by the few who have made themselves vocal in this matter. There are many other good and true men in our congregations who are perfectly satisfied with the prayer book. It is not a matter of numbers at all but whether we feel that there should be a revision at this time. Most of the criticisms that have been expressed here are trivial. Those changes can be made without a revision of the prayer book. But let us be fair. Much has been said about the new prayers which were introduced into the second volume of the prayer book. A small group insisted upon certain changes. In order to satisfy this group, they were added to the revision committee and were given full opportunity to prepare the type of prayers they thought should be in the prayer book. Prayers were

submitted on the various themes which were suggested and when they were brought in even this group admitted that the most were not written in prayerful language, that they had no place in the prayer book, that they were sermonettes. Now the chief question is, not are we going to revise the prayer book, but how? I do not think that we can revise it until we first know what type of revision is desired.

Rabbi Currick: Your committee considered first of all the incidents leading to the present situation. It had in mind that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in its San Francisco convention requested a revision of the Prayer Book; that it appointed a committee of five on the subject which it instructed to confer with a similar committee of the Conference, which it asked the Conference to appoint. The Conference, instead of appointing a new committee, has assigned the task to the Committee on Liturgy. Your committee desires the Committee on Liturgy to have a free hand in the matter so that it can make the conference real and not a mere pretense. Therefore this resolution instructs it as to the manner of the conference with the committee of the Union. It informs the members of the Committee on Liturgy that it is the opinion of the Conference that the time has come for a thoroughgoing revision. I must admit that the discussion thus far has been thoroughgoing and that I should not wish to add anything if it were not that there seems to be much confusion about the implication of the word "thoroughgoing," around which the discussion has mainly revolved.

When the resolution was first presented by the committee I was asked the meaning of "thoroughgoing" and I replied, as I must now repeat, that some corrections requested may be merely verbal, others may completely change the meaning of the text. There may be additions or subtractions suggested. There may be matters merely of arrangement. However, even doctrinal questions as worded in the Prayer Book must be carefully considered if suggested by the committee of the Union. Perhaps the word may best be interpreted in the sense of *comprehensive*—nothing should be con-

sidered out of order in the joint committee's consideration of the revision of the Prayer Book. In order, however, to make the revision thoroughgoing, it must be scholarly; its various aspects must be studied from the viewpoints of tradition and usage and also from that of modern thought and feeling. I do not want to take the time to show that even the several problems themselves have various aspects which require careful study before we even begin the work of revision. That is why the committee added the provision for several studies of the Prayer Book to be presented to the Conference. We believe that the resolution as it is now worded should be adopted because it permits the Committee on Liturgy the widest latitude in its discussions.

The Conference adjourned.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference reassembled at 2:30 P. M.

The Special Committee appointed to study the correspondence between Scout officials and the Executive Officers of the Conference reported through its Chairman, Rabbi Frisch.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON BOY SCOUTS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: We, your special Committee on Boy Scouts, have studied the correspondence between Chief Scout Executive West of the National Headquarters of the Boy Scouts of America, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Chairman of the National Jewish Scout Committee and the Executive Officers of our Conference. We are impressed with the earnest declaration of the National Boy Scout organization spokesmen that their body has at no time consciously lent itself to sectarianizing tendencies in connection with the formation or operation of the various individual scout troops and we therefore feel that the wording of the resolution the Conference passed last year which gives the impression that the National Scout organization knowingly permits such sectarianization ought to be corrected accordingly. Nevertheless, it is our opinion that the changes instituted in the structure of the National organization in 1922 and since, which include the establishment of three denominational sub-committees to deal with Catholic, Protestant and Jewish phases of the work, the issuance and dissemination

of supplementary pamphlets specially directed to these three religious groups, and the natural imitation of these sectarian groupings in the national organization by the local troops and their administrative committees and the general toleration by the national organization of widespread and growing tendencies towards sectarianizing steps in various places, especially in the large centers of population, have had the result of actually bringing into being a serious condition of segregation along religious divisions in many places, to the detriment of the original high intent of the Boy Scout movement which sought among other important objects, to promote the spirit and the practice of fellowship among boys of different religions, and the fruitful incidental benefits that go with such an ideal and its earnest application. That grave and far-flung injury to the original spirit and expectations of the Boy Scout Movement has resulted in consequence of the influences mentioned, we are convinced is the case, from our knowledge of the personal experiences and observations of numbers of our colleagues brought to the attention of the Conference and your committee.

We, therefore, recommend that the attitude of our Conference be defined now as follows, this declaration to supersede the resolution adopted last year:

"Whereas, the Boy Scout Movement of America was chartered by Congress on non-sectarian lines as one of the great democratizing agencies for American youth; and,

Whereas, tendencies and practices have developed in connection with the formation and conduct of many local scout troops which make for segregation along sectarian lines, thereby defeating one of the original valuable purposes of the movement: namely, that of promoting free and wholesome mingling among boys of America to the end of their transcending religious barriers in the spirit of brotherhood, while each remains loyal to his own faith and treats with respect and appreciation the faith of his fellows.

Therefore, it is the sense of this Conference that the National Boy Scout organization should take energetic, comprehensive steps to discourage such sectarianization and that it should, as a first step in this direction and, as an example to the local scout unit, all over the country, adopt and carry into effect the resolution introduced by Rabbi Philip D. Bookstaber before the National organization at its recent annual meeting which reads as follows:

Resolved, that the now existing conditions under the denominational classification as Catholic, Protestant and Jewish be merged into one

National Committee to be known as the National Committee on Institutional Relations."

EPHRAIM FRISCH, *Chairman*
EUGENE MANNHEIMER,
ALBERT MINDA,
WM. F. ROSENBLUM,
BERNARD J. BAMBERGER.

The report of the Committee was adopted, and it was moved and adopted that the Jewish Committee be not permitted to use the name of the Central Conference of American Rabbis until the merger of the religious groups be effected.

The report of the Committee on President's Message was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Philipson.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Committee on President's Message having received the Annual Message of the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, wishes to congratulate Dr. Enelow on his learned and brilliant message. The Committee also embraces this opportunity to thank Dr. Enelow in the name of the Conference for the broad scholarship, the fine spirituality, and the splendid leadership which he gave to this Conference during his administration. May Dr. Enelow be granted many years of health to continue his scholarly work and his magnificent service to the Conference in undiminished vigor.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I After consultation with the members proposed for honorary membership in the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Committee finds that these members, although they appreciate the President's courteous suggestion, nevertheless because the old records are incomplete and for other reasons, they prefer to remain in their present status as active members. Hence the Committee in deference to the opinion of those directly concerned, does not concur in this recommendation.

II The Committee heartily concurs in the spirit of the suggestion of the President and we propose that Dr. Philipson be elected as Honorary President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for the coming year.

III-XX-XXIII-XXXII The President has recommended ten subjects for the coming programs. We appreciate the wealth of ideas which the President has given us and we recommend them all to the Executive Board with the request that they choose from them papers for the coming program.

We also heartily concur in the suggestion that the four subjects in Recommendation III be circulated in Hebrew and Yiddish and we commend it to the favorable consideration of the Tract Commission.

IV-V-VI The Ceneral Conference of American Rabbis reaffirms its historic position with regard to the rehabilitation of Palestine and in full harmony therewith reiterates its resolution concerning the Jewish Agency adopted in Chicago in 1928 as follows:

> "The Central Conference of American Rabbis views with satisfaction the productive labors of the Jewish Agency Commissioners, and felicitates them upon the program projected. We recommend that the members of the Conference give their sympathetic cooperation towards the realization of the aims which this program encompasses.
>
> In view of the fact that since the Balfour Declaration and the San Remo Compact the Central Conference of American Rabbis has repeatedly expressed its readiness to cooperate with all efforts made for the rehabilitation of Palestine, your Committee unanimously endorses the sentiment of this resolution."

VII-VIII-X-XIII We congratulate the Alliance Israelite Universelle on its long record of service in the field of Jewish Education and we instruct the Executive Board to send congratulations to the Alliance on the occasion of its 70th anniversary in 1930.

XI Inasmuch as the Synagog Council of America has begun a study of the pernicious activity of missionaries we heartily endorse their effort and suggest that it extend its study to Palestine and elsewhere.

XIV-XVII-XIX With regard to the subventions referred to in Recommendations XIV, XVII and XIX, this Committee views with great favor the new spirit apparently manifest in this Conference, due largely to the initiative of the President, of a desire to support materially and generously various praiseworthy undertakings for the promotion of Jewish philanthropic, educational and scholarly activities throughout the world. It believes, however, that the time has come for this Conference to devise a definite policy and system to govern the award of these various subventions so that they may be made in such manner and measure that the most worthy may be assisted in accordance with the resources of this Conference.

We recommend that the formation of this policy and system be charged to the Executive Board, and that these various recommendations of the President's message dealing with subventions be treated by the Executive Board in accordance with this system. This also applies to the subventions mentioned in the President's Report.

XII-XV-XVI-XVIII-XXXIV Your Committee recommends that these recommendations be concurred in.

XXV-XXXIII Your Committee recommends that the Executive Board consider the advisability of establishing a series of Conference prizes to be given in honor of such Jewish scholars as it will deem worthy of this honor.

XXI Your Committee heartily endorses the recommendation of the President that "we emphasize anew the importance of Jewish Educational work for adults" and we strongly urge the inclusion of courses in Jewish studies for adults in the program of every congregation.

XXXV-XXXVIII The President has expressed the desire to withdraw all of section 13 dealing with the condition of the American Rabbinate, except that portion concerned with the Rabbi's Pension. Your Committee recommends that Recommendations XXXV-XXXVIII be referred to the incoming Executive Board for further study.

XXXIX-XL The generosity of Lucius N. Littauer has made it possible for the Central Conference of American Rabbis to assist many scholarly enterprises and we therefore heartily concur in XXXIX and recommend that the incoming Executive Board send a letter of thanks to Lucius N. Littauer.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman*
EDWARD N. CALISCH,
HENRY COHEN,
LEO M. FRANKLIN,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ,
SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON,
SOL B. FREEHOF,
MAURICE H. HARRIS,
CHARLES S. LEVI,
LOUIS L. MANN,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
LOUIS WOLSEY,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
ABBA HILLEL SILVER,
ABRAM SIMON,
JOSEPH STOLZ.

The report was received and the recommendations considered *seriatim*. All recommendations were adopted.

The Conference adjourned.

SUNDAY NIGHT

The Conference reassembled at Temple Beth El at 8:00 P. M.

A message having been received announcing the death of William Loewenberg, regrets were expressed by Rabbis Wolsey, Joseph Stolz, Philipson, and Foster, who knew the departed colleague personally.

For memorial resolution, see page 226.

A message having been received announcing the death of Dr. Boris Bogen, it was moved and adopted that Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin be requested to write a memorial resolution in memory of Dr. Bogen, and that a message of sympathy be sent to the family.

For resolution, see page 212.

An amendment to the Constitution was proposed and laid over until the next convention of the Conference.

AMENDING ARTICLE IV, SECTION 5 OF BY-LAWS

Members appointed to the various commissions of the Conference shall be eligible to reappointment for no more than five consecutive years; that no member shall serve on more than two commissions and that in the interest of economy and efficiency the number of members on such commissions shall not exceed nine.

A message of greetings was received from the Zionist Organization of America, meeting in Detroit, and it was moved and adopted that the Secretary be instructed to send a reciprocal message of greetings.

A paper on The Aims and Achievements of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was read by Rabbi David Lefkowitz and the discussion was led by Rabbi Walter G. Peiser and William F. Rosenblum. (Appendix K). A paper on Proposals of Future Work for the Central Conference of American Rabbis was read by Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin, and the discussion was led by Rabbi Frederick I. Rypins. (Appendix L). The discussion which followed was participated in by Rabbis Freehof and Brickner. For discussion, see page 508.

The report of the Committee on Thanks was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THANKS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: As the closing hour of this historic and inspiring 40th Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis draws near, we would express to our Detroit hosts and hostesses our sincere and heartfelt thanks for the fine spirit of hospitality displayed by them toward the members of our Conference and our ladies.

Again for the fourth time, the Detroit Jewish Community has made our Conference its debtor. They have taken us once more into their hearts and homes. To our hosts and hostesses for their delightful entertainment of us—in so characteristically a Jewish way—in their homes on Shabbos eve—we would express our most fervent thanks.

To Mr. Melville S. Welt, General Chairman of the local committees, and President of Temple Beth El, for his most gracious words of welcome and his uniform kindness and thoughtfulness—and likewise to the chairmen and members of the several committees who helped to make our stay so enjoyable, we extend our warmest thanks.

No less grateful are we to the members of the Sisterhoods of Temple Beth El who provided an informal, though sumptuous reception for us in the Social Hall of the Temple.

In behalf of our ladies we desire to thank the Detroit Jewish Community for the numerous attentions and courtesies shown to them, and Mrs. Melville S. Welt for the most enjoyable Tea in her home.

We wish to thank most sincerely the Phoenix Club and the Franklin Hills Country Club for the privileges extended our members by these organizations.

A special word of appreciation is due the Boy Scouts, who in the usual Scout manner, rendered us such valuable service.

We also wish to thank the Jewish Community Center Association and J. L. Hudson Art Galleries for their kind invitation to our members to view the Jewish works of art in their galleries.

We are indeed grateful and extend our thanks to the members and trustees of Temple Beth El for the use of their most beautiful Temple for our Services and for many of our sessions and to the Temple Choir for their part in enhancing the beauty of our Services.

We offer our most sincere thanks and grateful appreciation to our esteemed and beloved colleagues, Rabbis Franklin and Fram, who in a spirit of real friendship and fellowship, looked after our every comfort and left nothing to be desired to make our sojourn in this

city so pleasant. We pray God's blessing on them and their dear ones.

To the local press of Detroit our thanks are due for the publicity given our meetings.

We leave this beautiful and hospitable city of Detroit with sweet and enduring memories and with hearts full of gratitude to our most genial friend, Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, and to all our most gracious hosts and hostesses.

Respectfully submitted,
Sol L. Kory, *Chairman*
Bernard J. Bamberger,
Gustave F. Falk,
Jacob B. Krohngold,
Charles B. Latz,
Jerome Mark,
Abraham B. Rhine.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was presented by Rabbi Leipziger.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

Gentlemen: Your Committee on Nominations begs leave to make the following report:

Honorary President.....David Philipson
President .....David Lefkowitz
Vice-President.....Morris Newfield
Treasurer.....Felix A. Levy
Recording Secretary.....Isaac E. Marcuson
Corresponding Secretary..... James G. Heller

Executive Board (two years)

Hyman G. Enelow
Edward N. Calisch
Julius Rappaport
G. George Fox
Samuel S. Mayerberg
Sol Landman

For Conference Representatives on the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations: (four years)

David Lefkowitz
Morris Newfield

For Conference Representative on the Board of Managers of Synagog and School Extension: (three years)
Eugene Mannheimer
Jerome Mark

Respectfully submitted,
EMIL W. LEIPZIGER, Chairman
HENRY J. BERKOWITZ,
BARNET R. BRICKNER,
FRED COHEN,
G. GEORGE FOX,
LOUIS J. KOPALD,
ISAAC LANDMAN,
LEE J. LEVINGER,
ALVIN S. LUCHS,
EDGAR F. MAGNIN,
JOSEPH RAUCH,
MARTIN ZIELONKA.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was unanimously adopted and the Secretary was instructed to cast a ballot for the officers, members of the Executive Board and the Conference representatives nominated in the report.

President Enelow: Gentlemen, this, I suppose, completes my task and removes from my shoulders the mantle of distinction which you were so kind as to place upon them.

I have so frequently, whenever opportunity presented itself, tried to express my profound sense of appreciation to all of you for the honor which you did me when you were so kind as to raise me to this high office that it is quite impossible for me to find new words in which to express my sentiment both of appreciation and gratitude. I hope I have not failed entirely.

I wish to say again that whatever measure of success I have been able to attain has been due to a very large extent to the fact that I have enjoyed constant assistance from my fellow-officers, and from many members of the Conference.

I am most grateful for the help given us toward making this Convention of our Conference successful. I am told that we have had the largest attendance that the Central Conference of American Rabbis has ever had, which means I think the largest attendance that any modern Conference

of Rabbis has had. Our program, while it may not have satisfied equally all of us, had a loftiness of purpose and a variety of character that cannot help but have entertained us all and must have made a certain impression upon our minds and hearts.

I am particularly gratified that a large number of our younger men have taken part in our program. I may perhaps be permitted to say that this has been one of the things upon which I have insisted for many years, namely, that so far as possible we should bring the younger men into the work of the Conference. Throughout this session we have had some very fine papers from some of the younger men of our organization, and I for one have been moved to admire not only the contents of some of the papers but also the character that distinguished them, their earnestness, thoughtfulness, and sincerity of purpose.

I wish to close with the thought of true thankfulness to Providence for having helped me to carry this burden during the course of my administration and for having assisted me to discharge the functions of this high office in a manner not entirely unworthy of those who have preceded me, and more especially of him, the master of us all, who founded this benign organization.

And now, my dear friend, Rabbi Lefkowitz, I regard it as a great privilege to hand this symbol of the high office of President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to you. I should consider it a pleasure to turn it over to anyone upon whom the distinction had been conferred by our colleagues. But it is a special pleasure to turn it over to you, because of the high esteem in which I have held you ever since our days together at the Hebrew Union College.

I congratulate you on this high honor and extend to you my sincerest best wishes for every possible form of success and satisfaction. I hope that this new form of activity may bring a tremendous lot of happiness to you and to your family, and I am certain that you will do your work in a manner that will not only bring honor to yourself, but also

add to the glory of our organization and to the benefit of Israel and humanity.

Rabbi Lefkowitz: Two years ago, when it was whispered to me that I was to be named for the position of vice-president of this organization, a surge of emotion swept over me, as it does at this moment. It had never entered my mind, I assure you, at that time, that I might have your confidence sufficiently to be deemed worthy of this office. I felt, of course, like everyone of us, that it is something to aspire to, something to be the climax of a rabbinical career, but I had not dreamed that it would come to me at this time in my life. While the surprise is less at this time, greater is the emotion that stirs within me. I cannot express to you the full measure of my appreciation of your confidence in me in raising me to this high office, an office, as our President has said, that was sanctified by our immortal leader. That one should be a successor to him and to the men who, so nobly following him, filled that office, is in itself staggering in the very thought of it.

We are facing our fifth decade, and I believe that the problems are greater and more complex, a large agenda is before us, and whatever powers of mind I have, they are gladly and completely and fully laid at this altar of the Conference. It will be a hard thing for me to come anywhere near to the high record made by my predecessors, but I believe none of them will have brought to that high office a greater zeal and a greater earnestness and a greater sense of dignity of the importance of this Conference than I bring. I ask your cooperation in this great task; I shall confer with as many of my colleagues as it shall be possible and shall more than welcome every and any suggestion that you might bring toward the welfare and advancement of the great cause which is dear to each and every one of us.

I should like to think that we go forward to this fifth decade with a greater earnestness if possible, with a greater solidarity in our ranks, and with a greater realization of the high tasks that are before us. May God help me and

you in the tasks that are ours; may He grant us strength of body and purpose to carry on that noble work.

To my predecessor in office, just one word: I have been inspired through these past two years by the singleness of purpose with which you have carried on the tasks, by the consciousness of the great dignity of the Conference for which you have been terribly jealous and of its high and unique position in American and world Judaism. I cannot bring to my office the scholarship with which you have certainly graced the position of President, but I assure you that I shall be as earnest as you in the preservation of that dignity. It is, of course, a great joy to me to feel that I shall have as one who shall be always by my side, our Honorary President, Dr. Philipson. I shall not ask for the cooperation of the Executive Board, for I know it shall be given. I am glad to think I shall have by my side the continued direction and helpfulness of our Recording Secretary.

I have inadequately, I know, expressed something that is inexpressible in my heart at this moment, humility, and yet an earnestness that I may somehow measure up to the high task to which you have, all unworthy though I am, called me.

The closing prayer and benediction were pronounced by Rabbi Joseph Stolz.

The session closed with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and *En Kelohenu* by all the members of the Conference.

The Conference adjourned *sine die.*

AMENDING BY-LAWS, ARTICLE IV, SECTION 5

Be it resolved, that members appointed to the various commissions of the Conference shall be eligible for reappointment for no more than five consecutive years.

Be it further resolved, that no member shall serve on more than two commissions.

And be it further resolved, that in the interest of economy and efficiency the number of members on such commissions shall not exceed nine.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS BINSTOCK,
PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN,
ISRAEL BETTAN,
BARNET R. BRICKNER,
SAMUEL S. COHON,
ABRAM J. FELDMAN,
G. GEORGE FOX,
I. HARBURG,
JAMES G. HELLER,
JACOB B. KROHNGOLD,
SAMUEL WOHL.

APPENDIX

A

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
TO THE
FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

It is an uncommon privilege to welcome you to the present session of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Meeting on the fortieth anniversary of our organization, we have particular cause for giving thanks to the benign Providence that has helped and preserved us. Ours, I believe, is the oldest and largest rabbinic body in existence, and we may well think with grateful admiration of its sainted founder and his co-workers. If our Conference has been able to maintain itself these many years, to enlarge its field and fruitage, and to serve as a pattern to other rabbinic societies, both in this country and beyond the seas, it has been due to the vision and the energy of those who created it and mapped out its activities. They laid the foundations upon which the structure of our Conference has been built year by year.

I

Fortunately, some of those who were present at the birth of the Conference are still with us today. It was here in the city of Detroit, on the 9th and 10th days of the month of July, 1889, that the Conference was called into being. What a pity that the names of all those who participated in the organization were not recorded! But, I am informed, that in addition to those whose names are found in the record of our first Year Book, the initial meeting was attended by all the members of the Class of 1889 of the Hebrew Union College, namely, Rabbis William S. Friedman, Charles S. Levi, Isaac L. Rypins, and William Rosenau, and the late Rabbis Moses J. Gries, Adolph Guttmacher, and Rudolph Grossman. Of those recorded as having taken part in that meeting, the following still grace our roll, on which, we hope, they may remain for many a year: Rabbis David Davidson, David Philipson, Samuel Sale, Joseph Silverman, and

Joseph Stolz. One of them, Dr. David Philipson, I think, deserves especial mention, for he not only had the privilege of calling the first meeting to order, but also served as Corresponding Secretary for several years during the formative period of our organization, and edited the first two Year Books. It must be a cause of rejoicing to all of us that, on this occasion, we are able to count among our members those who helped to create this Conference and to inaugurate its activities, and I think it would be appropriate to embrace this opportunity for showing them our appreciation of their loyalty and of their manifold service to our cause.

I take the liberty of recommending, first, that those of our members who participated in the formation of the Central Conference
I of American Rabbis at the Detroit meeting forty years ago be elected as honorary members for life.

Furthermore, I recommend, that Dr. David Philipson, in view of his having presided at the opening of the meeting at which the Conference was organized, and in view of his intimate association
II with the administration of the Conference during its early years, at the side of Isaac M. Wise, as well as of his faithful and distinguished service to the Conference throughout its existence, as a sign of our respect and gratitude, be elected as permanent Honorary President of our organization.

II

As we think of our pioneers, we cannot help recalling the objects for which our Conference was created. Its aim was threefold, as I see it: first, to preserve Judaism in America; secondly, to defend and fructify the principle of Reform in Judaism; and, thirdly, to unify and to uphold the rabbis engaged in the tasks of Reform Judaism. Whatever work we have done as an organization, and whatever contribution we have made to the life of our people and our faith, has come through fidelity to the purpose which animated the founders, and especially their leader and spokesman, Isaac M. Wise.

Of late it has become fashionable to describe Rabbi Wise as the founder of American Judaism. This description seems particularly popular with a certain group of his journalistic admirers who appear to have discovered him but recently, or to know of him only from

hearsay. Isaac M. Wise, however, was by no means the founder of American Judaism, and he himself would have scorned such a title. There was Judaism in America before the days of Rabbi Wise and his contemporaries, and even those who first lived as Jews on American soil, were by no means the founders of American Judaism. Our Judaism was founded thousands of years ago, when our ancestors first began to think of God and the human soul, of human destiny and duty, in the terms which eventually came to be known as Judaism, and it is this ancient and beloved faith, come down through uncounted masters and martyrs, that was transported to this country by those of its devotees who migrated to these shores. Indeed, it was for the sake of the integrity of their religion, and because of indestructible loyalty to it, that many Jews came hither.

One of the numerous charges leveled against Reform Judaism is that it has been devoid of historic consciousness. But such an accusation shows little knowledge of the actual principles and precepts of the authentic exponents of Reform Judaism. Not the least merit of Isaac M. Wise lay in his vivid realization of the historical character of Judaism, and his unforgettable effort to write this concept into the platform and program of our Conference. "Historical Judaism," he affirmed at the third annual convention of our Conference, "is the spirit of the Lord manifested in the history and literature of Israel, not in one country, one age, one set of believers and teachers, but in all generations and countries, in all minds in which there is a spirit of knowledge (or rather cognition) and the fear of the Lord—in all and everywhere, from Abraham and Moses down to Malachi, from Ezra to Rabbi Jehudah Ha-Nasi, from Rabbi Arekha and Rabbi Johanan down to the last of the Gaonim, from Saadya to Abarbanel, from Moses Mendelssohn to Abraham Geiger—concerning all of them we exclaim with the teachers of old *elu we-elu dibre Elohim hayyim:* all phases of Israel's history and all revelations in Israel's literature contain the words of the Living God of Israel." What Isaac M. Wise and his co-workers sought to do was to preserve the Judaism of history in this new environment—to help the ancient divine plant to flourish in the American climate—and as a means to that end they championed the principles of Reform and insisted upon the need of rabbinic collaboration.

If there is anything we require today, it seems to me, it is a new realization and vindication of those objects. Since our Conference was founded, the Jewish population of our country has grown in numbers and in activity. In 1890, according to a recent study of the Bureau of the Census, there were in the United States five hundred and thirty-three recorded Jewish congregations, with a membership of over one hundred and thirty thousand. In 1926, when the last census was taken, there were three thousand one hundred and eighteen congregations, with a Jewish population of over four millions. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1889 included ninety-three congregations; now it has two hundred and seventy-nine congregations. The Jewish community in America has increased in wealth and influence, and it is universally regarded as the most substantial Jewish community of the world. For all of which let us be thankful! Yet, it is just at a time and in circumstances such as ours, that it is imperative for us to try to see the true state of our Judaism, the real essence and purpose and promise of Jewish existence.

One of the unmistakable marks of Jewish life in recent years, has been the attempt to dissociate the Jew from the Jewish religion and to secularize Judaism. By this I do not mean that some individual Jews have claimed the right for themselves to interpret life in secular terms or to quit the Jewish religion; such things have happened always. What I mean is that a disposition has arisen to represent the whole Jewish people as essentially a secular people, or as an ethnic amalgam, or as a national group, which as such is by no means vitally related to the Jewish religion or to any other religion, and in the existence of which Judaism as a religion must at best be assigned a secondary, accidental position. Moreover, a scheme has been started to define Judaism itself—seeing the word could not be taken from our mouths—in secular terms, as something representing a form of culture, or a series of biologic phenomena, or a set of social customs and folk-ways, and similar fortuitous combinations. Religion, from this point of view, is supposed to have formed just one of the minor moments in the millennial drama of Jewish history.

As far as I am concerned, we have no task more important than the combating of this view, which not only misrepresents Jewish history, but must also serve to confuse the Jewish mind, to vulgarize

Jewish life, and to undermine the Jewish future. What does history tell us about the Jew and Judaism of the past? One thing above all else; namely, that from the dawn of Jewish history to the present moment, Judaism has been the religion of the Jewish people, just as the Jewish people has been the vehicle and the guardian of the Jewish religion. Would there ever have been a single Jew in the world but for the Jewish religion—for God's revelation to the Jew and the Jew's acceptance of that revelation? What Jews have survived as Jews, in times ancient or modern, except in so far as they adhered to the Jewish religion? What conception have the spokesmen of Judaism ever possessed or bequeathed to the world except that of a divine religion cherished by the Jewish people? Perhaps some historian of the future will find a different answer to these questions; but thus far there is but one unanimous voice in all the documents of the Jewish past. The chief purpose of the fathers of the Jewish people, we are reminded by Moses Maimonides, was to bring into existence a people which would know God and serve Him, and the secret of all their efforts was to publish the unity of God in the world and to direct human beings toward His love. That is, says Maimonides, what endowed them with the degree of their distinction; and it applies to all Israel.

The Jewish religion is the only cord that has bound the Jew to Judaism, and, what is more, it is the only thing that is likely to perpetuate the Jew of the future and to justify the continuance of his separate existence. What other reason is there for the Jew to want to maintain himself in the world as a being apart, in spite of the diverse objections and oppositions of the world? And what other force is there to ensure his endurance for any length of time? An individual Jew may grow indifferent to the Jewish religion and yet continue a kind of reminiscent existence as a Jew or maintain a sort of benevolent or social contact with the Jewish community, though he has become spiritually what the Great Midrash—*Midrash Ha-Gadol*—calls the man from whom the Divine Presence is hidden, a casual person, *Adam Arai.* But take Religion, the Jewish Religion, Judaism, out of the life of the Jewish people, or treat it as a matter of minor consequence, and you not only have removed what hitherto has formed the soul of the Jew and the supreme safeguard of his

continuity, but also you have written futility into the Jewish present and doom into the Jewish future.

Moreover, it is now more than ever that the Jew and the rest of mankind require what Judaism, as a religion, has to offer. Seldom in the course of human history has there been such a demand for religious enlightenment as there is at present. Though Religion is being assailed by numerous critics, in the name of liberalism, and of science, and for many other reasons, one cannot deny the presence of a world-wide demand for it. The more the attacks, the more both the heart and the mind of man seem to crave after Religion. Old temples may be crumbling, but, as Bojer has tried to show in his recent story, there is a yearning for a new temple and an irresistible eagerness to build it. It is a matter of no small import that some of the foremost philosophers and scientists of our age feel the need of Religion as keenly as it is felt by humbler folk. Nor is the present-day need of Religion a mere matter of the intellect, a mere mental requirement, for the purpose of supplementing our philosophies of the universe and investing our inner beings with spiritual harmony. Religion is needed for the ethical safety, for the moral ascent of modern man. There are those who advocate humanism and hygiene as substitutes for religion; but one cannot help doubting whether a humanistic ethic, with no matter what emphasis upon hygiene and culture, can prove an adequate incentive to moral conduct and a sufficient safeguard for our social structure. Certainly it has not so proved as yet. The disastrous effects of godlessness upon personal and public morality are all too often reflected in the stories printed in our journals and adorning our table-talk; yet, I suppose, there was never a time in human history when hygiene was hallowed and culture pursued as generally as among us today. Ours is the most prophylactic period in human annals and the most culture-ridden country on the globe; yet these characteristics have led to no corresponding advance in our private or social morality. Nor can the Jew in particular, whether for intellectual or moral reasons, dispense with Religion. The mental confusion of so many contemporary Jews, and the lamentable ethical deterioration of so many others, are demonstration enough. Right now the Jew needs, just as the world needs, a new realization of the truth and the beauty of Judaism as a religion—of its validity and

value,—the religion that in ages past played a paramount part in the spiritual and ethical development of mankind and is still able to do so today.

No less urgent is our need for a new vindication of the propriety and necessity of the principle of Reform Judaism. Since our Conference was founded, the Jewish population of our country has not only grown in numbers; it has also changed in form. It has become much more complex than it was four decades ago. There is hardly a corner of the world or a shade of Jewish belief or practice, but is now represented in American Israel. For the lover of both our religion and our democracy this is a pleasant scene to contemplate. It illustrates the freedom and friendliness of our Republic, as well as "the multiple splendor" — in Verhaeren's phrase — of our ancestral doctrine. But one result of this changed condition, has been the vast amount of criticism which in recent years has been heaped upon Reform Judaism. Many have adopted the policy of assailing and disparaging Reform Judaism in order to gain respect or support for their own type of Judaism. Most vehemently has Reform Judaism been attacked by those whose own kinds of Judaism had become either moribund or mere memories. Saddest of all has been the spectacle of assaults upon Reform Judaism by those who are supposed to belong to its own household and who nevertheless are ready to deride and belittle it, since to do so has gotten to be the fashion in certain circles and is regarded as a sign of spiritual superiority and intellectual independence, or as an excuse for personal indifference to one's obligations to Reform Judaism. And yet those very critics of Reform Judaism are quite often the very ones who clamor most loudly for a reconstruction of Judaism, who denounce Orthodoxy as an antiquated importation, and offer prizes for projects of an effective adjustment of the old faith to the new conditions.

Shall this hue and cry cause us to lose faith in Reform Judaism or to forget its achievements? Quite the contrary, I say. We must recognize and emphasize anew the ineluctable demand for the principle of Reform in Judaism, as well as its undeniable legitimacy. Reform, as we view it, is not a whim of the moderns; it is not a token of irresponsible levity on the part of latter-day radicals. It is a principle that has inhered in Judaism from the very beginning of its ex-

istence and it is thanks to its persistence that Judaism has been able to live and thrive amid all the changes of its long history. Perhaps the birth of Judaism, as Dr. Leo Baeck would have it, was an act of Revolution rather than Reform. It is easy to construe the Revelation that came to Abraham as a revolution in the religious history of mankind. As for the rest, however, the vitality of Judaism has lain in its capacity for constant self-renewal, for the tireless process of re-adjustment, in a word, for Reform. Renewal, as a French writer said the other day, is the true hope, yes, it is the old hope of Religion. Moses was a teacher of Reform, as was every prophet and every epoch-making master of Judaism through the ages. Jeremiah, in demanding the separation of religion from politics, was just as imbued with the principle of Reform, as was Samuel Holdheim; Ezekiel, who taught his people that God could be worshiped in Babylon as well as in Jerusalem, was no less swayed by the idea of Reform than was Abraham Geiger; and Johanan b. Zakkai who, among the ruins of the Temple, helped his contemporaries to erect the new temple of prayer, beneficence, and spiritual pursuits, illustrated the power of Reform perhaps even more startlingly than ever did David Einhorn. Always Judaism has been conceived by its true exponents in terms of life, and whatever lives must change and grow. "It is a tree of life to those who cling to it." Judaism has grown and changed throughout the ages. That the Reform Judaism of the nineteenth century was accompanied by more striking doctrinal and practical changes than had occurred for many preceding centuries, was due to the general transformation that took place in the life of the Jews when they emerged from medieval seclusion and entered the modern world, — the most radical change, in a way, since the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and of the Jewish State.

It is this capacity for adjustment to the new environment, shown by Reform Judaism, that has enabled Judaism to live in the new age and the new country, and to serve the spiritual needs of its adherents.

But it has done even more. It has offered an example, and acted as a stimulus, to other forms of Judaism, insofar as the latter have organized their institutions and activities on the model of Reform Judaism. Such congregational unions and rabbinical colleges as now are possessed by other branches of American Judaism, with all their

diverse organizations, might have come into existence and prospered even had similar Reform organizations not preceded them; but the fact remains that Reform Judaism did precede them, and show them the way, and that so it did, was due to the fact that Reform means vitality, recognition of spiritual needs, an incentive to awakeness and adjustment, a determination to quicken the spiritual life by means of fresh instruction and new institutions,—all this, rather than contentment with the laurels and laudations of the past. We might properly welcome the emulation of Reform Judaism by other groups; they do the work of Reform insofar as they seek to arouse and to evoke the spiritual energies of Israel. So much the more reason, however, do we have for trying to obtain a correct understanding of the meaning of Reform Judaism on the part of the masses of our people, and even of many a leader; an appreciation of the service it has rendered in the past and is still capable of rendering at this time when all the world is crying for a renewal of Religion and so many Jews, both in America and elsewhere, are asking for a re-adjustment of Judaism.

In view of these needs, I recommend that this Convention resolve to issue a series of papers: first, on the True Meaning of Judaism; second, on the Principles and Purposes of Reform Judaism; third, on the Historic Service of Reform Judaism to the Jew and the World; and, fourth, on the Present-Day Value of Reform Judaism; and that the new Executive Board be directed to carry this resolution into effect, in order that such essays might be published as quickly as possible and be given wide circulation.

III

Moreover, I recommend that arrangements be made to issue a similar series of papers in Hebrew and in Yiddish for circulation among those of our fellow-Jews, both in this country and elsewhere, reading those languages.

III

One cause of the latter-day misrepresentation of Reform Judaism no doubt, has been an offshoot of the Jewish Nationalist movement of the last three decades. Though some adherents of Reform Judaism have taken part in that movement, there is no denying that as a whole Reform Judaism has been opposed to it, and our Conference, representing Reform Judaism, has been opposed to it. That has led to all

manner of grotesque attacks upon Reform Judaism. It has been depicted as devoid of Jewish consciousness, as disbelieving in the existence of such a thing as a Jewish people, as failing to stress Jewish unity, and especially as lacking in concern and affection for Palestine. That such charges are absurd, every intelligent student of Reform Judaism must know. No one need to remind Reform Judaism of the reality and the unity of the Jewish people, seeing that recognition of this fact, and belief in it, always has formed one of the cardinal doctrines of the exponents of Reform. The priest-people—the people dedicated to the cause of holiness—the people of the Covenant: these are the terms of Reform Judaism for Israel. Reform Judaism has been mocked by its critics for talking so much about the Jewish mission to the world; but how could it have conceived or professed such a program if it had not believed in the reality of the Jewish people, in its corporate unity and task? Some leaders of Reform Judaism did not hesitate to call the Jews a nation before that word had assumed its exclusive political meaning. Nor does Reform Judaism need to be lectured on its duty to Palestine, as a land of the past or of the future. Reform Judaism has lacked neither in sentiment for the old-time sanctity of Palestine, nor in desire to see that country rejuvenated.

What Reform Judaism, however, could not accept was what has now come to be labeled as "the ideology" of the new Palestinianism. It could not accept the representation of the Jews of today as a separate nation whose proper homeland is Palestine; it could not accept the attempt to depict Palestine as the only place where a wholesome Jewish life might be lived and developed; it could not accept the proposition that Palestine alone was competent to serve as a spiritual centre for the Jews of the world and as a prospective seat of Jewish authority. All these assertions it rejected not because of wilfulness, but because they are contrary to the convictions upon which Reform Judaism is based and to those views of the character of Religion and the destiny of the Jewish people which mark the soul of Reform Judaism.

It may be true that a return of Israel to Palestine formed the dream of good Jews for thousands of years, as the official orators keep on reminding their audiences in after-dinner speeches. But what they

seem to overlook is that the pious people of olden days had certain beliefs about Palestine which caused them to dream that dream. They believed that Palestine was the actual centre of the globe. They believed that God had a special dwelling in Palestine, in favor of which He had discarded every other residence. They believed that God Himself, out of compassion, went into temporary exile when the Jews were forced out of Palestine, and that it was essential for Him and for the cosmos that He should return from His exile. They believed that in the latter days, when the resurrection of the dead occurs, those buried in Palestine would arise first, and that for the sake of the righteous resting in far-away sepulchres, the Lord would provide miraculous tunnels through which they might make a quick passage to the scene of the resuscitation. Finally, they believed that, as the acme of glory, the Messiah some day would take back all good Jews to Palestine and thus enable them to enjoy again the prerogatives of its sanctity.

Such were some of the elements of that fine old dream on which so much eloquence is spent nowadays. A dream it is, perhaps pleasant to narrate, but we ourselves do not dream it any more, because the stuff it was made of has gone out of our life. For us God is universal, and therefore the implications of the spiritual life are universal. If detractors, or misconstruers, of Judaism still insist on picturing Judaism in the sombre colors of tribalism, let them do so; but our idea of Judaism it is not. For us Judaism is a universal faith, having shown itself such by both its character and its history, and we believe that the whole world is qualified to be its spiritual centre and to serve as its sanctuary; *bekol makom shelomedim datho sham betho,* as an old Midrash has it: wherever Religion is cultivated, there is God's house. We do not believe, as did some of our primeval predecessors, that to live outside of Palestine means to be without God: *Kol ha-dar behutzah la'aretz domeh kemi sheen lo Eloha.* We do not believe that outside of Palestine the God of Israel lives the life of an *émigré* deity and the Jews are nothing but an uprooted people, a race of expatriates and nomads, as some of our nationalistic phrase-artists are teaching their non-Jewish reviewers to regard us. We do not believe that being taken back to Palestine by a Messiah is likely to form the culmination of Jewish history, though we have all possible respect for

the memory of our ancestors who by all manner of misfortune were taught to cherish such a vision.

Even so radical a teacher of Reform Judaism as the late Dr. Samuel Hirsch—who died just before our Conference was organized (on May 14th, 1889),—was animated by the hope that the process of Jewish history, with all its woes and joys, would wind up with a grand return to Palestine, under the royal leadership of an authentic scion of David, and finally in the election of the latter by all the nations of the world as their own super-king. "From among what people," Dr. Samuel Hirsch demanded in the year 1842, "could the peoples choose for themselves such a Judge, if not from the house of Israel? All other peoples have received from God worldly interests as their heritage: they were to become great in the arts and sciences; they were to circumnavigate the earth and spread their treasures everywhere; they were to have their own monuments, monuments of their greatness and glory. Israel alone has received no worldly interest as his heritage; he had only the doctrine of Truth to carry and to guard everywhere; he had as his only task to bring about peace between God and the world, a world estranged from God and therefore divided among itself. Therefore, Israel alone shall be acknowledged as capable of giving to the world the offspring under whose sceptre all shall be able to develop peaceably, all shall be able to grow and thrive before the Lord. And if that King is chosen out of Israel," Dr. Hirsch asked devoutly, "who else could more properly be chosen than a sprout from that ancient royal family which was called away from the sheep to keep the flock of Israel?"

We may be moved by the piety and poetry of so fine a faith; but, alas, we cannot share it. Times have changed, and beliefs have changed; and we question seriously whether even if such a miraculous Messiah arose, the Jews would be willing to be led back by him to Palestine, no matter how loud he blew his trumpet and what pleasant promises he offered for both the present and the hereafter.

The fact remains that Reform Judaism could not agree with the protagonists of the new Palestinianism, and thus it aroused their anger and hostility. So much the more eager, however, has been the desire of Reform Judaism to see Palestine treated as the Holy Land of the Jew and of the world, and to help to restore it as a place for

Jewish people and as a habitation for the Jewish spirit. The very fact that Reform Judaism construes the history and the destiny of the Jewish people in terms of its religious genius was bound to pledge its own adherents to an affection for Palestine, the scene of so many of our classic personalities and preachments. It has been to the disadvantage of Palestine that the devotees of Reform Judaism have been prevented by the phraseology of its new champions (or their ideology, as now it is called) from taking an active and conscientious part in its rehabilitation.

Recently, however, under the tireless leadership of Mr. Louis Marshall, a plan has been proposed for the inclusion of all Jews in the support of the Palestinian project. It is meant to enlarge the Jewish Agency in such a way as to embrace Jewish non-nationalists and, by accommodating a variety of Jewish views, to accomplish so much the more for Palestine. What the outcome of the present negotiations shall be, we cannot tell. But, it seems to me, that the best and most reassuring thing the Jewish Agency could do, would be to free itself entirely from political alliances and declare itself a non-political and non-partisan organization for the assistance of Jews who desire to live and work in Palestine. Political entanglements have never been good for the Jew nor for Judaism, and they are sure to impede Jewish activity in Palestine. It is not for the American Jew, for instance, to bother about the plans of England in Palestine. It is none of our task to interfere or to participate in its political aims or needs there. It is not for us to decide whether Palestine is or is not to become the Seventh Dominion of the British Empire, as is now proposed by some English patriots. And yet in all such questions a Jewish Agency, it seems to me, would be involved if it retained any political characteristics or implications. On the other hand, under British rule, just and fair treatment might properly be expected for a Jewish organization of international membership devoted to the welfare of the Jews of Palestine. Freed from political entanglements and projects, the Jewish Agency might serve to reduce the hostility of the non-Jewish population of Palestine as well as the outspoken or secret antipathies of other non-Jewish elements, and it might more safely count on securing whole-hearted support from the Jews of America and other countries. Even in England it might thus gain the collaboration of Jews,

who, though British patriots and lovers of the Jewish people, have been prevented from joining it on account of its political aspect.

IV Therefore, I recommend that the Convention go on record as being opposed to the attempt made in some quarters to represent Palestine as the only homeland of modern Jews, seeing that wherever Jews live and enjoy the rights of citizenship—of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—there is their homeland.

V Furthermore, I recommend that the Conference express its wholehearted sympathy for every effort to restore Palestine as a home for such Jews as may live there and can be added to its population, and particularly for those institutions which in a non-political spirit devote themselves to the intellectual and spiritual advancement of Palestine, such as the Hebrew University, the Teachers' Institute, and similar institutions.

VI Finally, I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis go on record as favoring the disentanglement of the Jewish Agency for the restoration of Palestine from all political connections and commitments, and its development as an international non-political and non-partisan society for the advancement and protection of Jewish work in the Holy Land.

IV

An excellent example of such an international society devoted to the common good of the Jewish people is presented by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* the seventieth anniversary of whose creation occurs next year. The story of this society and its manifold activities deserves to be studied by all who are interested in Jews and Judaism. Speaking of the founders of the *Alliance,* in his valuable book, "Fifty Years of History," Mr. Narcisse Leven, who was one of them, tells us that they had, with the ardor of youth, a profound love for Judaism and faith in its destiny and that they regarded as a duty the defense of its honor and its doctrine. The *Alliance* is one grand instance of a Jewish spiritual effort on a large scale—of an effort on the part of Jewish people to carry the torch of education and of religion to their fellow-Jews in various backward parts of the world. In Palestine, also, the *Alliance* has been active for many years, both through its agricultural college at Mikweh Yisrael, founded in 1870, and its

various schools, the most important of which, at Jerusalem, was opened in 1882, under the leadership of M. Nissim Behar. What deserves our special attention at this moment, however, is the effort now being made by the *Alliance* to counteract the influence of the Christian missionary institutions at Jerusalem.

Last year I called attention to the augmented activities of Christian missionaries at Jerusalem, thanks to the freer field they enjoy under present conditions. I tried to show that both the new government and the great poverty of the Jewish population have favored them and their projects. I tried to point out that, as it seemed to me, it was idle to try to stop the missionaries by mere speeches or appeals, and that, on the contrary, the only way to prevent them was by creating educational opportunities for the poor Jews of Palestine, and especially for the children, under Jewish auspices. Here, I believe, is a task worthy of the combined effort of all Jews, regardless of class and country, worthy of united Israel. If Christians of various countries and creeds can combine for their missionary work in the Holy Land, why cannot Jews do the same—Jews whose great motto and hope always has been unity? Unfortunately, thus far no united enterprise has been inaugurated. Some whose attention was drawn to the situation believed they could not do it; others would not do it; while still others sought to deny, or to minimize, the existence of the evil. Nor, as far as I know, has the general educational situation among the Jews of Palestine improved during the past year.

The one organization in Jerusalem that really seems to try to cope with this task, is the school conducted by the *Alliance*. At the beginning of the new school year, in the autumn of 1928, it enrolled some three hundred and fifty new pupils, many of whom actually came from the missionary schools and many more of whom probably would have entered them. The story of the enrollment of those boys and girls—of the pleadings and prayers of their poor parents—is most moving (it appeared in the November, 1928, issue of *Paix et Droit*, the organ of the *Alliance*). Madame Jacob Meir, the wife of the Grand Rabbi (we are told in this account), for an entire week took up her post in the Jewish quarter in front of the missionary institutions, and with tireless zeal she exhorted the parents and the pupils, especially the young girls, to come to the school of the *Alliance*. One

saw her of a morning arriving with a score of children; she fought, bargained, pleaded for their admission; radiant with her achievement, she departed for another bout, and in the afternoon returned with a fresh supply. This she kept up for a whole week. "We are engaged in a crusade," she said, "in the reverse order." When it was pointed out to her that the *Alliance* school lacked facilities for the accommodation of such a sudden influx, that it was not organized to take care of nine hundred pupils, she cried: "One must strike the iron while it is hot; the money shall be found!" Though the school accepted as many as it could manage, still many mothers, we are told, were sent away crying: "We shall have to send them to the missionaries!"

VII I wish to recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis extend congratulations to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of its birth, which occurs in 1930.

VIII Moreover, I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis make a special contribution to the school of the *Alliance* in Jerusalem, in order to enable it to enlarge its work.

IX Also, I recommend that a paper on the history and the work of the *Alliance* be placed on the program of our next Convention as a study in an important modern organization devoted to the religious and secular education of the Jewish people.

X Likewise, I recommend that in appreciation of the important educational and religious work done by the *Alliance* in various countries, the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis undertake to acquaint their congregations with the merits of this society and to secure for it an annual subscription.

XI Finally, I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis make a further study of the anti-Jewish missionary activities in Palestine and ascertain what steps it might take, in conjunction with other organizations, to counteract them.

V

Whatever may or may not happen in Palestine, it would be foolish to imagine that it is going to solve the Jewish problem. It may be well enough for certain journals to headline Palestine as the Land of Israel, but while once upon a time it was the land of Israel, it does

not now happen to be, nor is it ever likely to become, the actual home of all Israel, nor even of a major part of us. At present there are about one hundred and fifty thousand Jews in Palestine, and the maximum number of Jews that could be accommodated there, according to most optimistic estimates, is two millions. On the other hand, there are nearly seven million Jews living at present in countries of Eastern Europe, such as Russia, Poland, and Rumania, and there the majority of them are going to remain. It is in those countries that their problem must be solved, as careful students perceived many years ago and as has become even clearer since the War. Those millions neither can nor will emigrate, nor are there countries to receive them. Insofar as we go to the help of those Jewish masses, we may be said to render an important service to the rescue and perpetuation of the Jewish people.

It is such a service, I believe, that is being rendered by the organization known as the O. R. T. This society has had a long and noteworthy history. It was formed long before the War for the encouragement of manual labor and agriculture among the Jews of Russia; that is what the initials stand for—*Obschestvo Rasprostroneniya Truda:* the Society for the Expansion of Labor. By adopting such a program, the founders of this society sought to do what Jewish leaders have regarded as essential to the welfare of the Jewish people in modern society ever since they began to fight for Jewish emancipation. It was one of the ideals of Moses Mendelssohn, and one of the changes that he regarded as a concomitant of political and civic liberation. Nothing is more untrue than the frequent assertion that throughout the ages the Jews had acted only as merchants and money-changers and that laborers and industrial producers were unknown among them. History tells us that even during the Middle Ages there were among the Jews many who lived by the toil of their hands, in spite of the restrictions to which they were subjected. As soon as they were freed from external handicaps, however, Jewish men and women went by the thousands into manual occupations, proving how farcical the charge that they were either unwilling or incompetent for such pursuits. In Russia alone, toward the end of the nineteenth century, there were, in spite of all restrictions, nearly one hundred and forty-nine thousand Jews engaged in agricultural occupations and over

five hundred thousand Jews in manual trades, according to figures presented by N. A. Buchbinder in his recent Russian work on the History of the Jewish Labor Movement in Russia.

It is commonly recognized that the hope of the Jews of Eastern Europe lies in the further adoption of manual occupations. That is true especially of Russia, where only those employed in farming and the trades seem to be regarded as first-class citizens. But it is no less vital in Poland and Rumania. The ORT, through its different branches, has been trying to assist the Jewish masses of those countries in effecting the transition to productive and respected occupations. It has been helping them to learn trades, to become farmers, and to secure the implements necessary for the proper conduct of those occupations. By arrangement with the Russian government it has made it possible for American relations to send tools for both farming and manufacture to Jews in Russia and in other ways to forward the work of transformation that is going on there.

XII I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis register its approval and admiration of the work of the O.R.T., as a valuable contribution toward the reconstruction of Jewish life and the welfare of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe.

XIII Furthermore, I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis make a financial subscription to the work of the O.R.T., the amount to be determined either by the Convention or by the new Executive Board.

XIV Finally, I recommend that the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis be requested to direct the attention of their several congregations to the far-reaching work of the O. R.T. and to bespeak for it their generous support.

VI

Though most of the Jews of Eastern Europe, as I have said, will and must stay where they are, large numbers are trying to get away from their old homes to places where more favorable conditions obtain for their own future and that of their children. There is no telling but those are the very ones most deserving of encouragement. They may be the strongest and most promising. Civilization, as some anthropologists tell us, has at all times been advanced by the migrants—

those adventurous enough to depart from unauspicious surroundings and to establish themselves in new abodes. Certainly Jewish history has been a magnificent illustration of this phenomenon, as Mr. Ellsworth Huntington tried to show in his work on "The Pulse of Progress," and as every intelligent student must perceive. *Lekh lekha:* "Go—by thyself, for thyself,toward thyself!" With this bidding Jewish history began. It seems, also, to contain the keynote of the Jew's physical and spiritual history. Movement has been the masterword of the Jew. At any rate, the westward urge is strong among the Jews of Eastern Europe. But whither? this is the question. And how? Poor and bewildered, and, with restrictions against immigration adopted by various countries, it is harder than ever for migrants to find their way.

Under these circumstances such a society as the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society has proved itself particularly enterprising and helpful. This society—now known as the Hias—was founded in New York some years ago primarily for the sheltering and aiding of immigrants—and as such it rendered most valuable service. Two years ago, however, under pressure of new needs, it expanded its program to a much larger field. It decided to study the possibilities of Jewish migration to other parts of the world—to such countries as contained opportunities for immigrants and were willing to receive them. For this purpose, the Hias, in conjunction with the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) and the United Jewish Emigration Committee of Europe (Emigdirect), has inaugurated activities of far-reaching importance in South America, South Africa, Australia, Canada, as well as in Cuba and some European countries, notably in the agricultural districts of France. This work includes the investigation of what opportunities exist in the several countries, proper preparation of the migrants for their journey and supervision of the process of migration, and finally assistance of the migrants upon their arrival.

The details of this laudable enterprise I need not discuss here. But I cannot see how anyone interested in the lot of the Jewish people can fail to realize its importance. Nor can I conceive of anyone reading the report of its work without admiration for both the migrants and their supporters. In Argentine, for instance, during the year 1928,

nearly 7000 immigrants were met upon arrival by the Hias and looked after in various ways; in Brazil over 4000; in Uruguay, some twenty-two hundred; in South Africa, fifteen hundred; and so forth. This, quite apart from the service rendered to the migrants in the countries and at the ports of emigration, by way of proper classification and arrangement of the economic and diplomatic requirements; and apart also from the manifold activities for the good of immigrants carried on by the Hias in our own country. This, it seems to me, is a great work, which combines devotion to one of the chief virtues of traditional Judaism, kindness to wayfarers—a virtue as old as Abraham,—with actual assistance to thousands of families of pioneering stock, and with a service to civilization.

I beg leave to recommend, first, that the Convention express its hearty approval of the work of the Hias and pledge to it its
XV support.

Secondly, I recommend that the members of the Central Confer-
XVI ence of American Rabbis be requested to secure copies of the annual report of the Hias and make its contents known to their several congregations as occasion serves.

Thirdly, I recommend that this Convention vote a financial contribution to the Hias out of the General Fund of the Confer-
XVII ence, as a token of approval and toward the support of its work.

VII

Nowhere in the long history of the Jewish people, I believe, did there occur so radical a transformation as is going on at present in Eastern Europe. We are all familiar with the terrible misfortunes the Jews of those countries have suffered. They suffered before the War, during the War, and since the War. The fact itself has not changed; only the forms have changed. That millions of them should have survived those incomparable miseries, and still be able to think and toil and hope—that is one of the miracles of Jewish history. But few of us know anything of the spiritual conditions that prevail among those Jewish multitudes of Poland, Lithuania, and especially the Soviet Republics. Even those of us eager to learn what is actually happening in that regard, find it most difficult to obtain such knowl-

edge. We are able to get some information about the political and economic conditions in those countries; but about the spiritual conditions, very little. The returned travelers to whose tales we listen avidly, usually have nothing new to add. Even our official observers seem to repeat the same speeches, which are eloquent and commendable enough, but they do not tell us what we should like to know. Certainly there must be something worth telling about the spiritual life of millions of human beings whose chief characteristic only a short time ago was their religious uniqueness. Has all that vanished from their life? Don't they care for it any more? Are there not masses of men and women still loyal to the Jewish faith, and, if so, how do they carry on their religious life? And as to those who are said to have deserted their old sanctuaries, is there no trace of nostalgia left among them?

Nevertheless, we know in a general way that there is a mighty movement of ideas going on among the Jews of those countries. Some of them are pronounced in their hostility to the Jewish religion; others try to construct a new interpretation of the Jewish people and destiny, and others still are opposed to the retention of any principles of Jewish separatism. These diverse ideas are being expounded in a literature of vast proportions in the languages of the several countries, and to a large extent in the Yiddish tongue. No one concerned with the destiny of the Jewish people can help being interested in this remarkable contemporary development and must want to obtain authentic information about it.

That is why the Yiddish Scientific Institute of Wilna, I believe, merits our attention. This institute was founded in 1925, for a twofold purpose: first, to study and analyze the present condition and past history of the Jewish people, and, secondly, to collect all materials relating to the contemporary life of the Jews. While the leaders of this society hope to extend their studies over the whole world, it is natural that their most intensive and most valuable work should lie in the countries nearest to them,—the very countries in which the most noteworthy changes in Jewish life are taking place at present. During the short period of its existence, the Institute has published several volumes devoted to historic, economic, and philosophic subjects, and their contents are not only remarkable exhibitions of ardor and thoroughness, but also, I think, important contributions to Jewish history.

There are, for example, essays on the economic development of the Jewish people, in both ancient and recent times, which deal with an aspect of Jewish history thus far either neglected or treated inadequately by our historians. There are bibliographical articles of greatest value to the student of present-day Jewish life. In addition to its own literary and historical projects, the Institute has undertaken certain special studies for other societies. For instance, at the request of the Berlin office of the Joint Distribution Committee, it is said to have made a study of the economic life of the Jews of Poland, and it is now engaged in other similar inquiries. One aspect of Jewish life, however, which the Institute thus far does not seem to have investigated, is the present spiritual situation among the Jews of Eastern Europe, with special reference to the religious conditions, though this is a subject of great interest today, as it is sure to be to the historian of the future.

I wish to recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis endorse the scientific activities of the Yiddish Scien-
XVIII tific Institute of Wilna, and commend its historical studies and literary enterprises to the generous support of its own members and the general public.

Further, I recommend, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis request the Yiddish Scientific Institute to undertake
XIX a study of the present spiritual situation of the Jews in Poland, Lithuania, and particularly Russia, with special reference to the actual condition of the religious life, and that our new Executive Board be authorized to grant a subvention for this purpose, as well as for some other work of the Institute, if deemed advisable.

Finally, I recommend that the Conference request the new Executive Board to try to secure for the program of our next Con-
XX vention a paper on the Present Religious Situation among the Jews of Poland, Russia, and other East European countries.

VIII

Perhaps it would not have been so easy to attack Reform Judaism and to confuse the minds of many of its adherents on vital questions, if we had not allowed it to drift away from the time-honored Jewish

tradition of continuous religious education. Through all its metamorphoses Judaism hitherto has gone hand in hand with education. It has regarded education not as a means to the religious life, but as a part of the religious life. It has been perpetuated through cultivation of knowledge, intelligence, understanding. It has lived by the Torah. Nothing could be less true than to assume that when Reform Judaism arose it turned its back deliberately upon that tradition and had espoused the cause of ignorance. The pioneers of Reform Judaism: Geiger, Holdheim, Einhorn, Kohler, and many another, were scholars, and their aim was to encourage Jewish education. Reform, they maintained, depended upon enlightenment, and they devoted their lives to the spread of knowledge. Moses Mendelssohn, to whom indirectly Reform Judaism owed its origin, was the apostle of education.

No less was Isaac M. Wise, the father of our Conference, a zealous champion of religious education and throughout his life a devotee of learning and teaching. Those who have fallen into the habit of glorifying him mainly as an organizer, do him little justice, and show that they are not familiar with what formed his chief aim. I have even heard it said of late, by one who should have been the last to say it, that Isaac M. Wise was not much of a preacher, but that, in reality, that did not matter, as he knew how to get about with people, how to raise money, and to organize. Such a view may suit those who would make of Isaac M. Wise a perfect pattern of the up-to-date rabbinic solicitor, but it will never be shared by those of us who were privileged to hear him preach. Even in his old age there was fire in his speech, such as could not but kindle even senescent cynics and in the minds of the young stored up shining memories. His ardor came from two sources: first, faith; and then, love of learning. "I preached Maimonides to them," he used to say when in his class on Theology on Sabbath afternoons he would recall some of his most effective sermons. Organization to Isaac M. Wise was not an end, but a means. His aim, his goal, was to spread Jewish knowledge, and the organizations he labored to create were meant to subserve that end. *Talmud Torah keneged kullam*—this was his favorite motto, and he set the study and the spread of the Torah in front of all the foundations to which he gave his time and toil. He himself was a scholar,

though of a type not approved by some of his erudite contemporaries. For instance, the dyed-in-the-wool worshipers of Wellhausen disliked his conservative attitude to the Pentateuch, and so regarded him as unfit for academic homage. But we have lived to witness some strange changes in the radicals of those days, some of whom would not now seem to require much coaxing to profess that Joshua did make the sun stand still at Gibeon. Whether or not approved by the higher critics of his day, Isaac M. Wise had one ruling passion, namely, Jewish education, for himself and for his fellowmen, and to it he gave his inexhaustible energies to, literally, his very last hour.

The pioneers of Reform Judaism, I say, sought to increase rather than to diminish the life-long educational habit as part of Jewish religious life, and Isaac M. Wise was careful to designate devotion to it as part of the program of our Conference. "You united rabbis in conference assembled," he said at the first annual convention of our organization, "should annually give fresh impulses and new encouragement to the study of the literature of Israel. Unless the literature of Israel becomes the common property of the American rabbinate, it cannot fully perform its duty to American Judaism and cannot successfully unfold the spirit of universal religion contained therein." Insofar as adherents or exponents of Reform Judaism have departed from that educational ideal, they have weakened its position, reduced its power, and impaired its influence. They have made it possible for uninformed, though self-important and sometime well-meaning, people to stigmatize Reform Judaism as having been indifferent to Jewish education, and so to blame it for the decay of Jewish sentiment and loyalty in certain sections of our Jewish population. Moreover, they have become liable to the misunderstanding of their own religion, to misappraisal of its principles and purpose, and every shrewd demagogue and journalist finds it easy to confuse their minds.

Back to education! This, as I conceive it, is our greatest need. Back to the Torah, in its broad and comprehensive sense! And by this I do not mean merely the children or the youth, about whom we hear so much nowadays in connection with religious education, and who seem to be regarded as our vicarious burden-bearers in matters of religion. Children's services! Young people's classes! What can we do for the piety of the adolescents? Not to those objects of our spirit-

ual solicitude am I referring now. I mean the adults, the grown men and women, the members and the officers of our congregations, the trustees of our religious schools, the parents of those little ones for whose spiritual growth and welfare we profess so lively a concern. Little shall the religious schooling of the young profit us if the elders set the example of ignorance and indifference. With all our love for Reform Judaism we must admit that insofar as it is allied or content with ignorance of Judaism and of Religion, insofar does it fall below the standards of those other forms of Judaism which have given to neglect of education no sanction. Reform Judaism cannot live by mere Rhetoric and Publicity. It cannot thrive on earthiness, *Am Haaratsuth.* It must not allow its temples to be branded as *bate k'nesiyoth shel ame ha-arets,* as synagogs of ignorant folk. It must dedicate its devotees anew to the Torah, to Jewish study and enlightenment; and our own organization must work unceasingly toward that end. "I will give you shepherds according to My heart," as we read in Jeremiah, "who shall feed you with knowledge and understanding: *we-nathati lakem ro'im ke-libbi we-ra'u ethkem deah we-haskel.*"

XXI I recommend that this Convention resolve to emphasize anew the importance of Jewish educational work for adults, as well as young people, as part of the program of Reform rabbis and congregations.

XXII Further, I recommend that this Convention go on record as favoring the inclusion of one or more courses on Jewish history or thought for adults in the annual program of work of each of its members as part of his regular rabbinic activity, no matter how much more difficult such work might be than other more popular enterprises.

XXIII Moreover, I recommend that the new Executive Committee be requested to arrange as part of next year's program a paper on the Jewish educational activities for adults actually carried on by our members, with opportunity for full discussion of this topic.

IX

One thing that hampers our educational work with adults, it seems to me, is lack of proper literature on Jewish subjects in the English

language. Other religious groups in recent years have been very active in the production of popular books for their own adherents and for the enlightenment or attraction of others. Statisticians have been telling us for some time that next to fiction, publishers of religious books have been the most prolific. Not only are there many publishing houses specializing in religious literature, but most general publishers every season include on their lists some works of a religious character. But when we look at the Jewish field, how meagre is our output! How little have we to offer combining the results of modern knowledge with a style suitable to the needs of the general public!

Take the Bible, for instance. Every year scores of books appear under non-Jewish auspices dealing with the various phases of biblical study; there are books on the composition of the Bible, on its history, its religious teachings and ideals, on its great personalities, on its literary beauties. There are commentaries without end—literal, critical, and devotional. Surely so many books cannot be published without serving to stimulate study of the Bible, to spread knowledge of it among the people. There is an impression abroad that the study of the Bible has become a thing of the past, or at best is confined to what Mr. Mencken calls the Bible Belt. But, if figures do not lie, that impression is erroneous. According to reports from some prominent colleges, courses on the Bible draw a larger attendance than ever and are among the most popular in the curriculum. Among general readers, also, there must be a genuine demand for the numerous publications on the Bible. But under Jewish auspices, how many works on the Bible can we be said to have produced in recent years? Hardly any.

Or take biography. Of late, as we know, this has formed a particularly popular form of reading. People seem to be eager for fresh presentations of the lives of the notable men and women of the past, including those who have distinguished themselves as religious leaders. Certainly, no history contains a larger number of remarkable personalities than Jewish history, men and women who have lived under a variety of circumstances, won eminence in manifold fields of activity, and made for the endurance and splendor of the Jewish people. It is true that one may find their stories in our standard histories; but the average reader is not likely to turn to those works. What we want in the field of Jewish biography is the same kind of stimulus of fresh

vivid depiction as exists in other spheres and as would be likely to excite the fancy of the present-day reader. A series of publications of this nature, dealing with the diverse phases of Jewish history and thought, I think would prove a valuable means of encouraging the practice and accomplishing the purpose of Jewish education among the men and women of our generation.

Who is to produce such publications? There's the rub. Unfortunately, the number of our writers is very limited. Our eminent scholars, apart from being few in number, are too busy with private research and professional duties, to care much about the needs of the general public. Authors of a popular type, competent to treat Jewish subjects, are even more scarce. Such as do exist, often view Jewish history and life from an angle different from that of Reform Judaism, if not hostile to it. The duty of turning out such popular literature, therefore, seems to devolve upon the rabbis who, on the one hand, are committed to the advancement of Reform Judaism, and, on the other, must realize the importance of literary instruments to that process. The Central Conference of American Rabbis, I think, would render a great service to the community, as well as to its own members, if it undertook to issue a series of short studies on subjects of Jewish import, and I am sure there are among us enough men qualified for such work, who would benefit themselves no less than the public by doing it. If in the course of a year we put forth no more than ten such studies, it would form a valuable contribution, and I cannot help believing that we could muster ten authors a year from our membership for such an enterprise.

I recommend that the Conference resolve to undertake the publication of popular studies in Jewish literature and history, and especially biography, for the purpose of advancing Jewish education and encouraging the literary activity of its own members, and that the new Executive Board be requested to carry this resolution into effect.

XXIV

X

That one may be an adherent of Reform Judaism and remain a devotee of Jewish scholarship is illustrated by the late Dr. Marcus Jastrow, the centenary of whose birth occurred the other day. One

cannot read his life without admiring his idealism and energy. Born on June 5th, 1829, in Prussia, he served as rabbi in three countries: Poland, Germany, and America, and wherever he was he stood out as a lover of freedom as well as of his faith. Because of his support of the Polish struggle for freedom, he was forced in 1869 to leave Warsaw, where he had gained fame as preacher and leader. From Warsaw he went to Worms, and thence to Philadelphia. Throughout his career he remained active in the cause of Reform and of the Jewish people. Though he did not in all matters see eye to eye with Isaac M. Wise, and like other Eastern rabbis engaged in many a combat with him, he none the less served the cause dearest to the heart of Dr. Wise, the advancement of Judaism in America.

Most noteworthy, however, is the fact that amid all his activities and ambitions, Marcus Jastrow remained true to the ideal and purpose of Jewish scholarship. His sojourn at Warsaw was marked by his mastery of the Polish language and his publication of a volume of sermons in that tongue. While at Worms he wrote a work on Jewish history, and in Philadelphia he produced many an essay on Jewish history and literature, to say nothing of his prayer-book. But his crowning achievement was his great Talmudic Dictionary, which was completed just before his death in 1903, and which, by its learning and lucidity, is sure to keep his memory green in the grateful mind of every student of Jewish literature.

As a token of appreciation of the service rendered by Marcus Jastrow to the cause of Judaism, I wish to make the following recommendations:

XXV First, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis establish an annual prize either at the Hebrew Union College or at the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, or both, to be awarded for some scientific essay in Jewish literature, preferably the Talmud, and to be known as the Marcus Jastrow Prize.

XXVI Secondly, I recommend that the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis be requested to take cognizance of this anniversary and make it the occasion of acquainting their congregations with the life and work of this eminent scholar and pioneer of Reform Judaism in America; and

Finally, I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis prepare a popular paper on the life and work of
XXVII Dr. Jastrow for distribution among the people, and that the new Executive Board be directed to carry this into effect as speedily as possible.

XI

There is another anniversary we might properly observe this year, that of a townswoman of Dr. Jastrow's, intimately connected with the religious training of the young. I refer to the sixtieth anniversary of Rebeccah Gratz, who died on the 27th day of August, in the year 1869, and an important volume of whose letters has just been edited by Dr. David Philipson. All the world knows that this fair lady of Philadelphia, whose very name has become romantic, devoted her life to works of benevolence and education. One of her most important characteristics, however, was her zeal for the religious education of the young, which insipred her to organize the first Jewish Sunday School in this country and thus to serve as the pioneer of an institution that has played a paramount part in the spiritual life of the Jewish community.

For, what may we justly say of the type of Religious School founded by Rebeccah Gratz and developed by our Reform Congregations? I should be the last to affirm that it has been perfect in either activity or results, especially as I am one of those who do not believe that any human institution is a model of perfection. No doubt, our religious schools have fallen short of our ideal, and none has realized it better than those who have been most engrossed in its work. Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that these religious schools of ours, despite their defects, have accomplished a great deal for the spiritual training of the Jewish people of our country, and have contributed more than any other institution to the perpetuation of the purpose and the diffusion of the doctrine of Judaism as construed by Reform. Several generations of American Jews and Jewesses have gotten their knowledge and love of Judaism from these religious schools; many of our leading personalities have derived from them their Jewish information and inspiration; quite a few of our American rabbis obtained within their walls their early Jewish education; tens of thousands of

Jewish boys and girls have been prepared in these religious schools for their Confirmation, and thus were dedicated to the maintenance of the Jewish faith and life. Though our religious schools, I say, have not been as complete and effective as we should like to see them, no unbiased person can deny that they have had a lofty aim, that they have enjoyed the diligent care of most of our rabbis, and that their achievements have been significant.

So much the more reprehensible, I think, are the attacks that of late have been leveled against these religious schools of ours and the attempts to represent their work as devoid of merit and as requiring radical revision at the hands of so-called experts. We have witnessed the rise of a new school of experts—new Pharaohs who knew not Joseph! Wherein does their expertness consist? In some courses they have taken under some non-Jewish masters (excellent men, these, in their own lines) and in the art they have acquired of circulating questionnaires and employing clerks for making up statistics. Besides, they have grown familiar with some current phrases of pedagogic technique, which sound exceedingly formidable and fascinating to those not in the habit of reading the educational journals. Their expertness consists, also, in a thoroughgoing dislike for Reform Judaism and an idolatrous admiration for the Jewish leadership of Ludwig Lewisohn. "Upstream" is their Mishnah and "Mid-Channel" their Gemara! "You Gentiles" is their Tosephta. It is by means of such expert equipment that they keep on criticizing whatever is going on in our system of religious schools, making desperate gestures about its methods and courses, and seeking to undermine its influence with those uninformed members of our laity who are always ready to lend an ear to self-proclaimed and importunate experts.

Especially pernicious is the activity of this type of expert when it is carried on under the auspices, and so the protection, of organizations supported by Reform Judaism. Yet that is what is going on among us today. Some such experts have made it their business, for several years, to keep on harping on the wrongness of the curriculum of our religious schools. Others, keep on chanting that the trouble with our religious schools is that they are conducted by rabbis instead of being in the hands of experts. Others lament that the rabbis do not take the religious schools seriously, and yet won't allow the ex-

perts to take them over, while still others feel that they must apologize for being associated with so trivial an enterprise as the Jewish Sunday School.

Yet, if we examine the results of all these laments and labors, what have the experts achieved? Take our curriculum. We know that our curriculum is imperfect, and especially we know that it is difficult. We know that it is hard to teach history to children—and for that matter to adults; and yet because of the nature of our religion, which is an historical heritage and growth, we are constrained to teach it. Many of us have tried to solve the problem, as best we could, by constant supervision and direction of our teaching; we have sought to fuse historic instruction with the everyday spiritual requirements of our pupils. But, I ask, what have these latter-day experts, with all the advantages they have gotten from learning to quote Professor Dewey's *obiter dicta* and Dean Russell's alleged theories, what I repeat, have they done by way of giving us a better and more effective curriculum? The answer is, Nothing! Phrases, labels, and nothing else! They may have changed some titles, altered some terms, suggested some new artifices; but they have done nothing toward the actual reconstruction of our curriculum from one based on history to anything else. One such expert has suggested that the trouble with our curriculum is that we call our books of song, Hymnals. It is an awful pedagogic trespass, he wailed, from the standpoint of a self-styled disciple of Professor Dewey, to designate a book as a hymnal; such a title goes against the grain—or is it the "psychology"?—of a modern child. Call it Songster, he demanded: "the Jewish Songster"! That was his mighty addition to the forward push of our educational chariot.

However, it is not merely the title of our song-books these critics dislike. They dislike the contents of those books. The trouble with our song-books is, according to their lament, that they contain nothing but religious songs, and worst of all, that these songs are in the English language. What an awful pity that the children of our schools do not know any Yiddish, and so are prevented from singing Yiddish folksongs instead of English religious hymns! Music, it is admitted, has great emotional value. Therefore, if our children would sing Yiddish folksongs in our Sunday Schools, their emotions would be

engaged at once and forever in enthusiasm for Judaism; and all our problems would vanish like smoke. Of course, it would have to be the kind of Judaism these experts represent; namely, what? A Judaism which shall not insist so much on religion; which shall not offend the experts by being what they call "theocentric"; which when quoting the medieval mystical phrase about the unity of God, Israel, and the Torah, shall be careful not pay too much attention to God, but lay the chief stress on Israel—"the pee-pul"—and shall understand by Torah not what Jews throughout the ages have understood by it—not what Jews lived and died for by the thousands—not what millions of Jews even today are ready to suffer for and to lay down their lives to preserve. Oh no! By Torah they shall understand Jewish Culture, and since this term has already gotten trite and proved itself hard to define in unreligious terms, then they shall understand by Torah, Jewish Civilization—the latest addition to our vocabulary of evasions and collection of fig-leaves! It is true that Professor Alfred Bertholet, in his History of Hebrew Civilization, the best book on the subject, reaches the conclusion that the originality of Israel lay solely in the independence of his religion and that it is this fact (as he says) that constitutes the abiding interest of Israel's entire civilization. It is true also that in this summary the modern German scholar repeats what Jewish prophets and professors have said throughout the ages about the distinctive mark of the Jewish people. But what is all that to our up-to-date experts?

We do need a better curriculum for our religious schools; we do need better text-books; we do need better everything else. But all this we shall never obtain from men who dislike Religion, who detest Reform Judaism, who would exalt a chauvinistic Jewish populism above the immortal heritage of Jewish prophetism, and yet presume to direct, and even shrewdly to dictate, the religious education of our youth. Improved texts and methods we shall get only from those who realize that the chief task of our religious schools is to teach and to practice the Jewish religion, as we understand it; to develop spiritual and ethical personalities through the imparting of Jewish ideals and the impact of Jewish heroism; and thus to contribute to the advancement of Judaism and of those causes of human happiness for which Judaism stands. From such men we may hope to obtain assistance

in that improvement of our religious schools which we ardently desire, rather than from those whose criticism is inspired by fundamental antagonism to our own conception of the worth of Religion and to our own interpretation of Judaism and its ideals.

I recommend that this Convention reiterate its faith in the Religious School, as developed by our Reform Congregations
XXVIII in America and as dedicated to the spiritual and ethical education of our congregations, in accord with the historic concepts and ideals of Reform Judaism.

Moreover, I recommend, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis request its members to observe this year as the six-
XXIX tieth anniversary of the death of Rebeccah Gratz and to employ this opportunity for a popular exposition of the ideals of religious education as interpreted by Reform Judaism.

Besides, I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis offer a prize of one thousand dollars, in addition
XXX to the usual author's remuneration, for the best text-book on some one phase of Jewish religious education, the choice of the particular subject and details of the award to be determined by the incoming Executive Board.

Finally, I recommend that we resolve to devote the Religious Education Day of our next convention to a symposium on The
XXXI Chief Purpose of the Jewish Religious School in America, and that the incoming Executive Board be requested to carry this resolution into effect.

XII

This reminds us of a certain anniversary which occurs next year, or rather a double anniversary, namely the seventh centenary of the death of Judah Al-Harizi and Samuel Ibn Tibbon. Though the precise date of their death is not certain, the year 1230 has been accepted by historians. It seems particularly appropriate to observe this occasion, because it might afford us an opportunity of recalling the real character of medieval Jewish life. Recent years have witnessed a remarkable revival of interest in the middle ages, strengthened, if not caused, by the growing realization that our present-day attainments in the various domains of civilized life are not so superior

to all that preceded them, nor so much more satisfactory, as once upon a time it was imagined they were going to be. The founding of the Medieval Academy in this country, a couple of years ago, shows how much attention is now paid among us to the study of medieval life and literature. As to medieval Jews, however, most people are still in the habit of thinking of them in terms of persecution and peddling. What the Jews during that period did for the spiritual enrichment of their own lives as well as for the furtherance of general civilization, is a closed book to the average citizen, in spite of the erudite works of certain scholars. Such names as that of Ibn Tibbon, who as translator of Maimonides rendered an unforgettable cultural service, and that of Judah Al-Harizi, who won renown as both poet and translator, might well remind us of the intellectual energy and spiritual splendor of medieval Israel and help us to gain a more accurate appreciation of the nature of Jewish life and ideals.

I, therefore, recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis undertake to observe next year as the seventh centenary of the passing of Judah Al-Harizi and Samuel Ibn Tibbon.

Moreover, I recommend that to that end we resolve to have on the program of our next session a paper on "The Spiritual and
XXXII Intellectual Life of Medieval Israel: as illustrated by Judah Al-Harizi and Samuel Ibn Tibbon," and the new Executive Board be requested to arrange for it.

Besides, I recommend that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in order to stimulate the study of medieval Jewish
XXXIII history, establish an annual prize either at the Hebrew Union College, or at some other institution, for the best essay on some subject connected with medieval Jewish activity, to be known as the Central Conference of American Rabbi Prize in Medieval Jewish History.

Finally, I recommend that the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis be requested to use these anniversaries
XXXIV as an opportunity for imparting to their congregations a better understanding of the spiritual grandeur of medieval Israel, expressed in his own literary productions and communal activities, as well as in his participation in the general cultural life of the world.

XIII

If the founders of our organization aimed through it to advance the cause of Judaism and to champion the ideals of Reform, they were no less eager to strengthen the position of the rabbis, to raise the standards and increase the influence of the rabbinic profession in this country. That the Conference has contributed toward that end none will deny. At present, however, new problems have arisen, and they are voiced with increasing frequency.

There is, first, the question of the rabbi grown old in the service and beginning to think with apprehension of the day of retirement. If he is so fortunate as to be associated with a well-to-do congregation, he might expect a pension from it. If his congregation is not in that class, what may he look to? Many years ago, the late Mr. Jacob H. Schiff saw the imminence of this question, and, inspired by the Relief Fund of the Conference, he donated the sum of one hundred thousand dollars toward the establishment of a pension fund for rabbis. This gift was entrusted to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which, thus far, however, does not seem to have been able to work out a practicable plan. Right now, I am told, a plan is being perfected, and perhaps the public may be apprised of it in the near future. If, however, it is true, as I understand, that it is based on the principle that the pensions shall begin at the age of sixty-eight, then, I fear, it would not meet the situation, unless congregations obligated themselves to maintain their rabbis until that age. The trouble today is that many a congregation would like to see its rabbi retire long before he is sixty-eight. Not every rabbi is able to keep up his best work until that age; and very few congregations, I am afraid, are willing to remember what he did, or how he did it, before old age had come, and to balance his spiritual account. In most cases it is the present moment that counts, and as soon as the newest critic has begun to whisper doubt of the learning or the eloquence of the rabbi, the question arises whether his hour had not struck. In all occupations the new tendency seems to be not only to eliminate the old, but to keep on lowering the limit of age. It is the dearth of employment for able-bodied men between forty-five and sixty-five, according to so competent an observer as Lieutenant-Governor Lehman of New York, that constitutes one of the major labor problems of our pros-

perous country and has led to the introduction of old-age assistance bills in twenty-five Legislatures and the actual enactment of such legislation in seven States. Once upon a time sixty or seventy may have meant old age; nowadays, unless you are a millionaire, it is forty or fifty, or, by reason of strength, sixty. What good would a pension be at sixty-eight, unless, as I said, it were understood that a man who had served in the ministry for a certain length of time were not to be dislodged, except it could be proved that he was unworthy of continuing to act as rabbi? Our problem is made the more serious and complex by the increasing production of rabbis in our blessed Republic. For the question arises, Are the congregations multiplying in the same ratio as rabbis?

XXXV Therefore, I recommend that the Conference undertake a thorough study of the training of rabbis in this country and of its relation to the needs of congregations, that in the pursuit of this study, and for the securing of accurate data, such competent outside assistance be engaged as may be necessary, and that a paper on the results of this study be put on the program of our next yearly convention.

XXXVI Moreover, I recommend that the Conference appoint a special committee for the purpose of studying anew the problem of rabbis' pensions, with special reference to the project being proposed by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

XXXVII Further, I recommend that in view of the ample opportunities now existing for rabbinic studies, the Central Conference of American Rabbis decline in the future to accept as members such applicants as have not taken a full course in a rabbinic college and have not secured regular rabbinic ordination, and that our by-laws be changed to that effect.

XXXVIII Finally, I recommend that the Conference consider the feasibility of establishing under its auspices a Placement Bureau for Rabbis, as a means of assisting both rabbis and congregations in questions relating to the appointment of rabbis.

XIV

I have taken the liberty of recommending to the Convention a number of actions which if approved would involve considerable expenditure of money. What emboldened me to do so was, in addition to a sense of the generosity of the Conference, the knowledge of a fund put at our disposal by Mr. Lucius N. Littauer. This gentleman, an enthusiastic adherent of the ideals of Reform Judaism and widely known for his devotion to the common good, has generously offered to the Central Conference of American Rabbis for two years a fund of five thousand dollars a year, for the promotion of its spiritual and intellectual aims, with the promise to make the fund permanent if it is spent in a manner commending itself to his support. It is out of this fund that during the past year the Conference was able to assist a number of important enterprises. Out of it it was enabled to bring about the reparation, and so the conservation, of the Jacobson Temple at Seesen; to support the new Jewish congregation at Braganca, Portugal, consisting of returned Marranos; and to subsidize several literary enterprises of unusual worth. It is true that the finances of the Central Conference of American Rabbis are in excellent condition, thanks to the demand for its publications and to its economic management; but it is no less true that appeals for help pour in upon us from all parts of the world, and seeing that we are looked upon as the representative rabbinic organization of the wealthiest Jewish community, apart from other considerations, we have a duty toward many of those appeals. I hope that Mr. Littauer may be pleased with the manner in which his gift has been employed by us and that others may follow his magnanimous example, and, by adding to our monetary resources, enable the Conference to enlarge its activities. Whatever the Conference does in this direction it does for the good of universal Judaism and the glory of the Jewish community of America.

XXXIX I recommend that this Convention extend a vote of thanks to Mr. Lucius N. Littauer for his generous gift and express to him its hope that he may approve of the manner in which the Littauer Fund has been used thus far, and that he may graciously determine to convert it into a permanent endowment.

Also, I recommend that the Convention appeal to other well-to-do

and public-spirited citizens to contribute to the Fortieth
XL Anniversary Fund of the Conference in order to enable it to enlarge its support of literary and spiritual enterprises.

XV

Whatever favorable position the Central Conference of American Rabbis may at present enjoy, has been due to the conscientious work of many of its officers and members during the forty years of its history. Without such effort and sacrifice no organization can thrive. That is one thing we must try to understand, if it is true, as the rabbis have said, that—*arbaim le-binah*—forty is the age of understanding. Isaac M. Wise set us the example, and others have followed in his footsteps. Some of his own favorite disciples in their turn became his successors in the presidency of our Conference, and we think of them today. There are those who have since passed away, laden with good works if not with years. We think of Joseph Krauskopf, gifted and diligent to the very last. We think of Moses J. Gries, taken away in the middle of his days, but leaving behind him such a memory of spiritual charm and unwearying activity as can never vanish. We think of Louis Grossmann, enamored of education and the common weal. Of Maximillian Heller we think, whose recent passing we are mourning but whose brilliant mind and deep devotion to the Jewish people we shall not forget. There are those who have served as presidents of our Conference who are still with us and all of them, with one regrettable exception, will conduct at this session a symposium which is sure to prove one of the most attractive parts of our program.

What the future may bring forth none can tell. But of this, I think, we may be sure. If we desire the Central Conference of American Rabbis to continue to grow and to be worthy of our pioneers and predecessors, we must do the following things: First, we must keep it free and independent and under no conditions and on no terms surrender its autonomy and self-respect. We must never allow it to become either in appearance or in reality a subsidiary of any other organization, however important or prominent the latter may be, and whatever memories and tasks we may have in common. And, secondly, we must be willing to serve the Conference, no matter how

much effort and sacrifice it might require, serve it as Isaac M. Wise served it, and others served it, serve it as an ancient Jewish master teaches us to serve God, as freemen, not as slaves—not as one expecting a reward, but rather as one expecting no reward, save that of adding to the good which the Conference has sought to do. *Das ist der wahre Reiz, der das Leben verschönert,* as Moses Mendelssohn has written: "that is the true charm, which beautifies life."

May our fortieth annual convention fill us with such high resolves, and may it be pervaded by the grace and the beauty of the Lord.

B

CONFERENCE SERMON

"AUTHORITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL SPIRIT"

DAVID PHILIPSON

Dor holech wedor bo. A generation goes and a generation comes. Forcibly am I reminded this day of this observation of the ancient sage. More than a generation has passed since thirty odd rabbis, who were in attendance upon the convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in this selfsame city of Detroit forty years ago, gathered in a small hall and organized this our rabbinical conference. During these forty years your fellow member whom you have honored by asking him to deliver this anniversary sermon, has passed from visioning youth to within three years of the threshold of the traditional three score years and ten. *Naar hoyisi gam zokanti.* The visions of youth have become almost completely memories or realities; some few remain visions still. Memory holds me in its grip at this anniversary time. All the elders of that past day and generation, headed by the beloved master and leader of them all, Isaac M. Wise, have joined the choir invisible of the immortal dead; all my own classmates of the first company of rabbis, ordained by the unforgetable master, fail to answer the roll call of the earthly living and many others, younger than they or I, no longer meet with us at our annual gatherings; hail and farewell, ye companions and friends of the long ago and the more recent past; blessed is your memory! you have left a name behind you; sweet is your remembrance in our mouths.

How appropriate for our consideration this morning is the passage in the traditional *perashah* of this Sabbath that tells of the first conference of leaders in the history of Israel, *Esfoh li shibim ish* came the bidding of the Lord to Moses, according to the biblical narrative, "Gather unto Me seventy men of the elders of Israel . . . . and bring

them unto the tent of meeting that they may stand there with thee. And I will come down and speak with thee there: and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee that thou bear it not thyself alone." (Numbers XI, 16 and 17). Frequently in the centuried history of Israel upon this planet did a similar call come to representative leaders. From the days of the *anshe keneset hagedolah* to this time of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and other similar organizations within the household of Israel in this and other lands has the need been manifest for consultative gatherings for the consideration of the pressing problems of the time. It would take me too far afield to pass in review the story of such gatherings throughout the career of Judaism in all lands. Let me content myself with indicating two which concern us most closely here—the organization of the first modern rabbinical conference at Brunswick, Germany, in 1844, and our own Conference, forty-five years later, in 1889; the question of the authority of such bodies was naturally foremost; the authority of the rabbinical code which was supreme in the pre-modern age among Jews had passed, as far as the liberal constituencies were concerned; for such the *Shulḥan Aruk* as the *vade mecum* of the Jews had ceased to function. Could any deliverances by any organization of rabbis or leaders on vital matters of belief and practice hope to exercise a hold on modern Jews like unto that of the four fold code in the earlier day? The democratic spirit which had been gaining constant ground in Europe since the casting aside of past heritages by the French Revolution had found readiest adherents among those Jews who, at a bound, had passed from mediaevalism into modernism. The general experience summed up in the proverb that extremes touch became verified also here. The modernly educated sons of the ghetto descended, *Shulḥan Aruk* observing, fathers threw all religious allegiance to the winds in hundreds of instances. The wine of freedom intoxicated them. Was there any possibility of holding these hundreds within religious bounds? Such were no respecter of institutions and creeds. Because a thing had been said or written did not make that thing binding for them. The talmudic *sheneemar* or *kakotub* had no place in their life's lexicon. It was in all truth a rebellious generation as far as allegiance to past practice was concerned. The rab-

binical leaders were plainly troubled. The freer spirits among them recognized the difficulty of the situation. It appeared quite clear to them that whatever authority a modern Jewish liberal rabbinical assembly might have must be an authority that arose from respect for the collective wisdom of respected leaders and not from ecclesiastical dicta; and therefore the Brunswick conferees declared as the aim of their gathering that "the rabbinical conferences shall have as their purpose that the members shall take counsel together in order to determine by what means the preservation and development of Judaism and the enlivening of the religious consciousness can be accomplished." If that was the case in the monarchical German states in 1844 how much more was it so in free America nearly half a century later when our Conference was called into being. Addressing himself to this question of religious authority, the founder of the Conference in his first presidential address used these words: "Whatever the individual could not or should not do, and yet ought to be done in support of Israel's mission or in advancement of American Judaism, the Conference could and should do. The collective learning and piety is a power for good by sincere cooperation. If many support one, man is a power. If one sustains many, he becomes the wisdom and energy of many. If the spirit of Judaism is to be developed to universal religion and provided with the forms and means to be accessible to the common intelligence—and this is our mission and our duty—we must have the united rabbinate, the annual Conference, the earnest and steady work of all our intellectual forces united in one power. With this Conference we enter upon the new phase of American Judaism as the free messenger of God to a free people, a kingdom of priests to anoint a holy nation. Let the work be equal to the ideal and the success as rich as the Lord's promise to all his anointed messengers. The Lord said unto me, thou art my son, I have this day begotten thee.' " And eight years later, in his last address but one to this Conference, the venerable founder who had just entered upon the eightieth year of his life, reverted to this subject of the authority of the Conference and said, "This body started into existence with a bold, uncompromising and frankly outspoken principle and without wavering at any time, without holding out any bait or offering any compromise to the undecided outsider, steadfastly adhered to it. 'Ours is

the purely historical principle of Judaism, with its progressive and reforming spirit,' was the announcement first and last, 'we are the successor of all rabbinical conferences and synods of the nineteenth century, or perhaps of the post-Mendelssohnian age, the latest link of that chain; we only continue the work in harmony with the spirit of this age and this country, as the preservation and promulgation of our sacred inheritance demand it to the best of our knowledge and judgment. We want no associates that have not arrived at this standpoint; whoever is not for us, can not be with us.' Such was the original proclamation, and to it did you cling faithfully and immutably. 'No ogling with the orthodoxy of any denomination, also no outcry of heresy against men and scholars of other convictions,' was the starting idea, and remained the efficient cause of all your decisions to this day, as is abundantly evident from all publications of this Conference. This appreciation of the spirit of history and of this age and this country, this frank and free announcement of it, and this consistency in the exceptional adherence to it, commanded the respect of the community, inspired confidence and established the body's authority, and what is perhaps more important, it preserved this body intact, steadily augmented its numbers and produced for it the attachment and loyalty which is the pride of our Conference. Another cause of the longevity of this Conference is that it never assumed any but an advisory authority. No inquisitory, no hierarchical, no commandatory authority was ever claimed or exercised by this body. It never commanded, hence it was never disobeyed; it advised its members and their congregations and many did listen to it."

Within less than two years after these words were uttered in the city by the sea, the mighty spirit winged its flight from earth. Our Conference was orphaned but the founder had builded well and his spiritual structure had been so strongly buttressed during the decade since its foundations were laid that even the departure of the architect and master builder could not retard its continuing growth and development. Devoted disciples and like-minded colleagues took up the task and continued loyally the work that he had inaugurated. Even before his passing the Executive Board of this Conference had arranged the program for the meeting which was scheduled to take place in the city of Buffalo in that year 1900. At his suggestion a paper on the theme,

"The Synod in the Past and its Feasibility in the Present" had been assigned to a recent graduate of the Hebrew Union College, none other than our present president, who presented an exhaustive study of the subject. At the close of his brilliant paper, the young writer said, "The Synod remained to his last day one of Wise's ideals, of which, however, portions have been realized owing to his indefatigable energy . . . Both the rabbinical and the congregational unions, (the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations), are manifestations of the synodical ideas—they are two fragments of the ideal which Wise never ceased to nourish and which possibly yet awaits complete realization; the continuance of the Jewish religion in the New World through the medium of that time honored institution, the Synod."

No action on the subject was taken at the Buffalo Conference but the two presidents who succeeded the founder in this office advocated in their messages the formation of a synod for the consideration of the religious problems in American Jewish life. The subject was debated at great length at Louisville in 1904, at Cleveland in 1905, and at Indianapolis in 1906. The widest divergency of opinions became manifest during the lengthy debate ranging from a fierce denunciation of a synod as tyrannical ecclesiasticism to enthusiastic endorsement of such a body as the supreme need in bringing order into a distracted Judaism whose followers were like wanderers in an uncharted land. The advocates and the opponents were so evenly divided that the proponents for a synod, although they had a majority of one at the Louisville Conference, withdrew the proposition because they did not wish to endanger the very existence of the Conference by the possibility of a split. The vote at Indianapolis was in the negative. Here ended that chapter in the history of synodical effort.

However, apart from the question of authority that might be vested in a synod, for the establishment of which in liberal Judaism there has been no further effort made since that attempt of a quarter of a century ago and for the possibility of which there appears little likelihood now, desirable as some may think such a stabilizing influence to be in the present confused state of Jewish liberal opinion, still the really distinctive feature of a synod as composed of both rabbinical and lay delegates and thus being an advisory and consultative body,

truly representative of the people, has not lost its appeal for many of us.

It is very striking that in the very biblical chapter that tells us of the first body of elders in Jewish experience there is contained also that other remarkable incident which furnished the foil to this conception of an authoritative council. Two of these seventy elders were different; they continued prophesying after all the others had ceased. This appeared revolutionary to the young Joshua, the devoted minister of Moses, yea, a very undermining of the leadership of the great man. In intense excitement he urged his master, "My lord Moses, stop them, shut them up." And Moses answered in those words which have become among the most cherished expressions of the real meaning of the spirit of religion, "Art thou jealous for my sake? Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put His spirit upon them!" (Numbers XI, 29).

Has the democracy of true religion ever been more tellingly expressed than in this aspiration? It reminds us of the exalted forecast of a later prophet who, speaking in the name of his God, declared, "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams and your young men shall see visions, and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out My Spirit." (Joel III, 1 and 2) No class distinctions in the realm of the spirit as here visioned; all the people inspired of God, taught of the Lord no matter what their age or their previous condition. The prophet who uttered these words left the time of their fulfilment indefinite and undetermined, *vehoyoh aḥare chen* and it shall come to pass afterward, or as other seers put it, *vayehi beaḥarith hayomim,* and it shall come to pass in the end of days. The goal for fulfilment was set in the distant future; they had no doubt of its ultimate realization, but the exact date could not be fixed.

Twenty-six hundred years and more have elapsed since these amazing religious geniuses gave this testimony of the faith which was in them. Their promise of the golden age to come was an unfailing comfort during all the centuries of travail and misery. *Yesh tikvah leaḥarisech,* the future ever held out the hope of betterment. But what of the real situation? Was there in the religious life as it developed in Israel a

vestige of the possibility of such a consummation as connoted in the exalted phrase "would that all the people of the Lord were prophets and that the Lord would put His spirit upon them" or in its equivalent "I will pour My spirit upon all flesh"? Isolated voices were these prophetic rhapsodies! In Israel as among all peoples, the actuality seemed far different from the seer's dream! Class and caste, master and servant, rich and poor, prince and peasant, noble and underling, priest and common man, of such was society, of such continued society. Yes, the actuality was far different from the Isaianic and the Joelian outlook! But in Israel there were latent potentialities which through the outworking of God's purposes were to give emphatic support to the prophetic point of view. A kingdom of priests had this people been called in the long ago. This meant a priest people as contradistinguished from a priestly caste comprising a hereditary group. Long as the visible symbol of priestly domination stood, long as the sacrificial system continued as the official expression of religious worship so long did the distinction between priestly caste and people continue. But when the Temple on Mt. Moriah was destroyed, the priestly prerogatives really came to an end although this was not recognized at the time and certain survivals from the defunct priestly hegemony persisted, such as the pronouncing of the Aaronic benediction during the public service and others which need not detain us here.

When the hereditary priesthood really and actually ceased to function, a new phase of Israel's religious career began—the phase which for want of a better term we might call the people's phase. If there was now religious distinction, it was founded not on birth as in the olden time but on worth. Even the humblest, as far as birth or worldly station was concerned, could rise to a supreme position in the Jewish religious world. A popular proverb expressed this forcibly, *hizoharu bibne ame haaretz kimehem tetze torah.* "Pay heed to the children of the common people for from them goeth forth Torah." In other words religious leadership was to be received from all ranks of society even the lowliest. An Akabi of most humple origin attained a position of the highest authority, outranking the descendents of prince and priest. And he was but one of many of whom a similar word can be used throughout the centuries. The academy or seat of religious learning became the Jewish royal palace.

The way into this royal palace was open to every son of Israel. For did not this people of Israel constitute a royal family according to the divine call, even a *mamlechet kohanim,* a kingdom of priests. And is not the emphasizing of this thought one of the great achievements of our liberal movement? According to the interpretation of liberal Judaism, the priest people idea displaced the traditional belief in the restoration of the Aaronides and their resumption of priestly ecclesiastical service in a rebuilt temple at Jerusalem. This wiped away all distinctions between priesthood and people; the traditional prayer book had retained the petitions for the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem with the sacrificial altar and for the restoration of the Aaronic priesthood to its ancient duties and prerogatives; the Jewish reformers excised these petitions from the prayer book and substituted in their stead the enlivening doctrine of the priesthood of service on the part of the people of Israel or in other words, the mission of Israel. Boldly and unequivocally the reformers assembled at Philadelphia, in 1869, had sent forth this challenge to the Jewish world. Despite scornful and sometimes sneering criticism by caustic opponents during the sixty years which have elapsed since then and, particularly in recent days, by the new middle of the road party in American Judaism, still the statement on the mission of Judaism made there and then by that great company—great in calibre though small in number, for in that company were Wise and Einhorn, Samuel Hirsch and Kaufmann Kohler, Samuel Adler and Bernard Felsenthal—still expresses in the main, I believe, the standpoint of liberal Judaism as represented by our Conference. That statement reads: "The Messianic aim of Israel is not the restoration of the old Jewish state under a descendent of David, involving a second separation from the nations of the earth, but the union of all the children of God in the confession of the unity of God, so as to realize the unity of all national creatures and their call to moral sanctification.

We look upon the destruction of the second commonwealth not as a punishment for the sinfulness of Israel, but as a result of the divine purpose revealed in Abraham, which, as has become ever clearer in the course of the world's history, consists in the dispersion of the Jews to all parts of the earth, for the realization of their high priestly

mission to lead the nations to the true knowledge and worship of God."

The mission of Israel, the priest people, so clearly defined here became and now is a leading teaching of liberal Judaism. You and I and all Israel, *kol yisroel,* are obligated by this service. In this service all distinctions disappear. Whether rabbi or so called laymen, the charge pronounced by the prophet, *Atem eday,* "You are My witnesses," lays its compulsion upon us; and there sounds too into our ears, the variant of this charge, the longing cry of the master prophet, "would that all the people of the Lord were prophets, and that He would put His spirit upon them."

Though we are far, very far, from the realization of this ideal, still signs are multiplying in our religious life that there are an increasing number of earnest souls in our ranks who, even if not prophets nor the sons of prophets, yet are evincing an awakening interest in Israel's spiritual concerns. This became very clear to me when reading a few months ago the pamphlet issued by the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods entitled, "The Voice of the Jewish Laity." If this, our rabbinical body, is a modern counterpart of the "seventy men" upon whom the spirit of God is supposed to rest particularly because we stand before the world as the mouthpieces of religion, then the remainder of the people is the modern representative of that "whole people of the Lord" that Moses had in mind when he voiced the hope that they might all have the spirit of the Lord rest upon them. We, the rabbis, are a part of catholic Israel—leaders if you will have it so; we and the people form a spiritual partnership and have common interests. We should welcome the opportunity of learning what our partners in our spiritual enterprise have to say. Are these prophetic voices which have made themselves heard? But whether prophetic or not, they are expressions of what some of the people are thinking and we should seize the opportunity of giving respectful hearing to, and a consideration of, what has now been brought to our notice. This is no new thing in Israel, this paying heed to what the people say. In the Talmud there are scores of sentences introduced by the words *Omri Inshi* "the people say," popular proverbs that utter homely wisdom, *Puk ḥazi may ama diber,* "go out and see what the people are saying." (Talm. Bab. Ber. 45a) said one of the great teachers

when a certain point was being discussed. And following this excellent advice, let us too consider some of the things the people are saying since the opportunity lies so near at hand in the words which have found public hearing through this booklet, "The Voice of the Jewish Laity."

I can make only a few selections from among the hundreds of opinions that men in all parts of the country have expressed. These opinions range from real insight to comparative foolishness. *Quot homines, tot opiniones.* Those which I desire to bring before you, my friends and colleagues, are a few such as are particularly addressed to the rabbis and which I feel should give us pause. There appears to be great dissatisfaction with what some pulpits offer. There seems to be a longing for what a number call, more spirituality in the pulpit. "The sermons should be typical of what the synagog represents," says one of these earnest souls. And he continues, "It is not a Lecture Hall, theater or movie, and, of course, not an audience. The rabbis will all agree to that, but will insist on preaching all sorts of piffle." And another touches on this same topic, "Why go to Temple to hear a play reviewed or a book discussed? Nothing is being done apparently to revive our waning Jewish religion, but the rabbis are giving the congregations what they want, so that's that." And, finally, let me quote the positive desire for a religious message of one who writes, "Reviews of books and plays can be found in the paper and magazines; the pulpit must not compete with the lecture platform and the luncheon clubs. It has a holy mission to perform, that of being a meeting place of a kingdom of priests and a holy people." Others of these modern *Omri Inshi* might be quoted, but sufficient have been cited to make thoroughly clear to us, among other things, that there is a rather wide spread discontent with the present day tendency in some places to turn the pulpit into a book reviewing agency, a sort of rabbinical wing of the book of the month clubs. I consider this a very healthy protest on the part of these thinking laymen. It seems to have become a feature of book marketing to send complimentary copies to rabbis with the request for a copy of the sermon that reviews the book. This is a method of securing rather wide publicity at a low price. It goes without saying that there can be no objection to references to or a quotation from a stimulating book during the

course of the sermon or even to the devotion of a sermon occasionally to a book that lends itself appropriately to review from the pulpit, but this is an altogether different matter from the present promiscuous practice.

And what shall we say to the discussion of popular plays that now feature some of our pulpits? Are we rabbis so poverty stricken that we must depend on the theater, except in rare and especially appropriate instances, for our sermon themes? Because a rabbi can crowd his temple by speaking on a play like "The Strange Interlude" *et hoc genus omne* is this sufficient reason for such a departure? Is it our purpose to follow the line of least resistance and swim along with a popular current or have we an ideal for our pulpits that shall point upward and beyond? Shall we not give heed to the cry for more spirituality in the pulpit that a number of these laymen are uttering? They may not be able to define exactly what they mean by spirituality but they know what they want and it is apparent that they have a high conception of the task of the pulpit. They want it to be different from the ordinary lecture platform. They long for a modern spiritual message for the discussion of "social problems from a spiritual standpoint," as one of them puts it. The pulpit and the Temple represent for them an ideal. These may be exceptional voices from the laity, but dear friends and brethren, *Daya remiza leḥakima,* "a hint to the wise is sufficient."

Again, because of the responsible position we occupy, my dear colleagues, must we not occasionally practice self denial? As good as our constituents? We must be better. I once heard a rather serious moral lapse of a rabbi excused by his devoted friends on the score that a rabbi is human and he must be expected to be like other men. Human, yes; human, of course; but not human in the sense that these apologists imply, but human in contradistinction to animality, human in demonstrating how high man can aspire, not how weak he is. The price of spiritual leadership is frequently loneliness. The air on the heights is often too rare for the dwellers in the valley. I am not advocating asceticism; far from it; that would be a departure from the high road of Jewish teaching and practice. It is not my purpose to excoriate; that would be presumptuous on the part of an equal speaking to equals, but what I am pleading for, dear friends,

is the heeding of such warning notes as I have quoted wherever they are applicable; I am pleading for a fine dignity in the pulpit; I am pleading for a ministry that shall stand before the people as messengers of the Lord of hosts, and shall by their lives and examples be recognized as such messengers.

Here I pause. For four decades and one half I have toiled in the vineyard of the Lord. Many of you sitting before me I have taught. I have rejoiced in the fine record that many of you have made. I have gloried in the onward march of our Conference. When I compare this great gathering with the handful that were present at the pioneer preliminary meeting over which I presided forty years ago, I recognize that in a very true sense the little one has become a thousand; if not in actual numbers, then in influence. The Conference has become one of the great organizations in American Jewry and occupies an honored place. It has attained a position of authority; if not in the actual synodal sense, then for the ample reason that it is the fellowship of well nigh three hundred leaders in liberal Judaism. Its authority is that of earnest effort and combined counsel. I feel that that authority will grow more pronounced as the years pass. As we enter upon the fifth decade of our existence which God willing shall end in the celebration of the semi-centennial, I, your senior in length of service, look forward with confidence and call unto you, my friends and my brethren, *al ta'arotz ve'al techath,* be not afraid, nor be ye dismayed. The future will have its problems and its difficulties. That we know full well. Only *ḥazak ve-ematz* let us be strong and of good courage. Hand in hand with all our people let us go forward praying, *Mi yiten kol am adonoy nebiim.* "Would that all the people of the Lord were prophets, that the Lord would put His spirit upon them." Amen!

C

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS

BORIS D. BOGEN

EDGAR F. MAGNIN

The Central Conference of American Rabbis deeply mourns the passing of a truly great Jew, Boris D. Bogen. He was an international Jewish thinker and one who rendered a collosal service to his people. He was a pioneer in the field of Jewish Social Service and paved the way for an improved technique that influenced the Jewish charities all over this country and the general charities as well. He was a scholar and a philosopher, a teacher, a humanitarian and a friend. His conversation was brilliant and scintillating. Laughter and wholesome fun fell from his lips and many a difficult situation was solved by him by means of this very gift.

Underneath the humor of the man was a deep sense of seriousness and of understanding of his fellow men, particularly his own people.

For many years while acting as superintendent of the Federated Jewish Charities of Cincinnati he taught at the Hebrew Union College. The burden of his lectures is contained in his volume on Jewish Philanthropy. More valuable even than the information he bequeathed to his students, was the impact of his remarkable personality; his deep sympathy and the bigness of the man.

The spirit of social service and the desire for more justice in the world that rests in the hearts of so many of our colleagues, was first implanted, or at least, enlarged and furthered by contact with Boris D. Bogen.

The service that he rendered East European Jewry during and after the war in conjunction with the Jewish Welfare Board and later in connection with the Joint Distribution Committee will go down as an important chapter of modern Jewish history. Many were the lives he salvaged and the families restored to usefulness and respectability through his herculean efforts.

As Director of the Jewish Federation of Welfare Agencies in Los Angeles for two years, he proved to be an inspiration and a power of good in western Jewry. As Executive Secretary of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, his service to that great Order, and through it to all his people at large, was invaluable. The Hillel Foundation, the Anti-Defamation League and all the many phases of the Wider Scope activities forged ahead by dint of his mind and energies.

Little wonder he was known over the entire world and respected by Jew and Gentile alike. Little wonder that he is mourned by thousands, from the laborer to the banker. Little wonder that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, dedicated to the preservation and furtherance of all that is Jewishly beautiful, is stricken with grief over the passing of this man. His influence will live on for many years to come—perhaps through all the years.

"Tomorrow is the new moon; and thou wilt be missed because thy seat will be empty."

RABBI EMIL ELLINGER

MOSES P. JACOBSON

It is a privilege to be called upon to pay tribute to the memory of Emil Ellinger. He was the type of minister approved of the poet who sings:

> "I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
> Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life
> Coincident, exhibit proof
> That he is honest in the sacred cause."

According to the statement in the American Jewish Year Book of 1903-1904, from information undoubtedly given by himself,— I say this because the intimate personal information furnished me differs decidedly as to the date and place of his birth,—Emil Ellinger was born May 2, 1861, at Papa, Hungary. He received his Hebrew education at Nikolsburg, Moravia, his secular education at the University of Vienna, and his rabbinical diploma from Rabbi Judah Ossart. His first rabbinical charge was at Devecser, Hungary. His active mind and his dedicated spirit soon become dissatisfied with the inflexible traditionalism of his surroundings and his even then extensive

readings had acquainted him with the invitations to Jewish liberalism in the conditions and attitude of Israel in America. He heeded the call of his ideal dedication and came to this country. In the small community of Mount Vernon, Indiana, he served his apprenticeship for his American ministry. By carefully writing out his sermons in English, having their composition corrected, and committing them *verbatim* to memory, he soon acquired a fine literary mastery of English and at the same time learned to speak the language with but the faintest and a very pleasant trace of his native tongue. He had a fine presence and a rich, carrying voice. His oratorical gifts and his scholarly qualifications, together with his Jewish earnestness, readily secured him the pulpit of almost any congregation whose membership or whose officers came in personal touch with him. He served congregations in Sioux City, Ia., Alexandria, La., Austin, Tex., Leavenworth, Kan., Williamsport, Pa., and Marshall, Tex. He spent the last five years of his life in well-earned retirement at San Diego, Cal., where he died November, 16, 1928. I have letters of condolence written to his widow from almost every community he served, expressing the deepest affection for him and the highest appreciation of his character and his talents. Particularly notable was his ministry to the federal prisoners at Leavenworth, a former inmate of the institution there in such a letter of solace attesting the benedictive and redemptive influence of his sympathetic ministry upon all their lives. He is survived by his wife who is now living in San Francisco.

His numerous changes of pulpit so far from being a reflection upon his capacity or his character are a credit to his consecration. He was constantly on the outlook for the ideal Jewish community and he refused to allow himself to sink into a rut. It was not high things that he sought. He cared little for emolument and little for the sensational evidence of success in the way of great audiences, dramatic impression, or press publicity. But what he did demand was Jewish consistency and Jewish sacrificial sincerity on the part of the people he served. He would pour forth his ardors for months, for a number of years even, and then, if despite his devoted preachments and faithful ministries he still met with inarousable apathy, disillusioned where he was, he would journey on, for ever following the mirage of hope

elsewhere. He was always received with acclaim and bidden farewell with regret.

With the example of the Seventh Day Adventists ever consciously present with him, he could find no excuse for the Sabbath non-observance of his people even on the plea of their material necessities. He was all the more impatient, therefore, with their desertion of their house of worship at every invitation, whether trivial or great, of amusement or sociality. The Jewishness of his people everywhere he found to be in them for the most part the symptom merely of arrested development, not a soulful persuasion. It was this mournful even though it might have been a mistaken, realization which, despite his preparative qualifications, discouraged him from specializing in any Jewish studies, for which he could discover in American Israel no serviceable purpose except, perhaps, in the great centers of a provincial Judaism with which he had outgrown his sympathies already in the land of his nativity. He was above actuation by antiquarian interest or scholastic vanity. He confined his reading to the scientific, philosophic and inspirational literature,—Jewish, Christian and secular,—of the new day. He was forever groping for just that right contemporaneous chord in Judaism which would again find his people's heart and recommit them, as of old, with conscious dedication and self-denying zeal to Israel's progressive priesthood. And it was his heart's bitter disappointment to feel at last that upon his ministry there was fated to be passed the same pronouncement that God made upon the ministry of the disillusioned prophet: "Lo, thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: for they hear thy words but do them not."

Herein consisted alike his life's tragedy and its glory. He failed of computable accomplishment but he persistently followed the gleam. He maintained his integrity and forever kept the company of his self-respect.

The blessing of such a life, lived up to its ideal, disseminating its sincerities undeflected by consequence, impossible as it is of estimate, is nevertheless unquestionable in potency and opulence.

In every event it is a distinction to our Conference to have had a Rabbi Emil Ellinger of its membership, and it is a distinction to our records to enshrine an appreciation of his career of sanctified service.

LEON HARRISON

MAURICE H. HARRIS

Every year we call the roll and some do not answer. Here we face an inevitable law touching the whole human family. As the Scripture voices it, 'the generations come, the generations go, but the world goes on forever.' It is ever our fond hope that though 'the individual withers, the world is more and more.' Through memorials such as these, it is ever our aim to perpetuate in our minds and hearts that most precious in the life-work of our colleagues called home and to gather inspiration from their example. Thus a something of the spirit of those who have vanished from our vision may be woven into our consciousness.

When the boy, Leon Harrison, attained first place in the New York public schools among all the graduates of his year, here was already discerned a youth of promise.

It was a promise that very soon began to attain fulfillment. In Columbia University he took his baccalaureate degree with honors, was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa, which as is well recognized, is a mark of distinction. Perhaps he learned more from his books than from his professors, for he was an omnivorous reader even in his childhood. In his youth, he began to show that masterly diction that imparted such charm both to his spoken and written word.

His religious training was obtained from the Emanuel Theological Seminary which flourished in New York in the '80s. It calls to mind one of the faculty, Arnold Ehrlich, a remarkably erudite and original but not sufficiently appreciated scholar.

Before Harrison had reached his majority, he was engaged as minister in Temple Israel, Brooklyn. He was ordained by Dr. Gottheil of Temple Emanuel, who took a personal interest in Leon, recognizing his gifts. Many an afternoon we spent in his study reading Bachya's *Chovoth halevovoth,* with Schulman in the circle. In this, his first year, Harrison began to show gifts that won him attention beyond the limits of his congregation. So when the renowned Henry Ward Beecher died, he was chosen as one of the speakers at the memorial service.

Meanwhile a break took place in Temple Israel, the leading reform congregation of St. Louis, presided over by the brilliant but

erratic Sonnenshein. The seceding group with the title 'Shaari Emeth' chose Rabbi Sale as its minister. Then Temple Israel invited Harrison to fill the now vacant pulpit. It was remarkable that a young and untried man should have been given charge of so representative a congregation, but he accepted it and he presided over it with ability and distinction.

Here in fact was the field of his life work. Here his notable and literary gifts and stimulating personality were brought into wider recognition. His congregation attained new prestige in association with him. He preached a courageous and inspiring Judaism. He faced world problems clearly, with keen mind based on sound scholarship. He became the outstanding minister in the city of St. Louis. His repute spread through the land. He was eagerly sought as speaker at all public functions, at college commencements, for he was always at home on the speaker's platform. He was able to utter wise things in a fascinating way.

At the Sunday services which he introduced, crowded congregations both of Jews and Gentiles greeted him, drawn by his magnetic personality. The Monday morning press gave prominence to his sermons of the preceding day.

Whatever he wrote, he revealed the literary gift, for he was a master of classic English. Here and there his delightful style was illumined with flashes of humor.

His charm made him a welcome visitor with all circles. He was at home in any kind of social group. His scintillating wit, his quick repartee, made him the life of any gathering in which he found himself. Converse with him was always exhilarating. He was somewhat Bohemian in his manners, but that was really part of the exuberant cheer that he eradiated. He travelled widely, drinking in the cultures of the old world.

His popularity made the old temple no longer adequate for his growing congregation, so a new sanctuary was erected for him. It was his energy that not only gathered the much needed funds, but also wiped out its debt. The congregation showed its confidence in him by electing him for life while still a young man.

Successful though the Sunday morning services were, he decided after due deliberation, to give them up for a Friday night service,

for he felt that the latter better exemplified the Jewish spirit and appealed to Jewish youth. When he had served the congregation thirty-five years, the occasion was taken to celebrate the event to pay tribute to his merits.

Why might he not have continued mellowing with the years to three score and ten and beyond? Alas, that but two years after that triumphant celebration, the divine fire of his eloquence should have been suddenly stilled by an accidental catastrophe.

The sad news was deemed of sufficient import to be flashed across the seas. I learnt it in that way. All St. Louis went into mourning. Tributes from persons of eminence poured in. For the sentiment was felt throughout the land that 'Verily, a prince and a great man had fallen that day in Israel.'

MAXIMILIAN HELLER

JOSEPH STOLZ

On the Sabbath morning of March 30, 1929, God lovingly bestowed upon Rabbi Max, the son of Simon and Mathilde (Kassowitz) Heller, the precious inheritance of "the Sabbath eternal," which he had earned by almost forty-five years of faithful, untiring service in the American rabbinate.

He had anticipated that he might be the first among the graduates of the Hebrew Union College to celebrate his seventieth birthday; and about a month before his demise, he wrote me glowingly that he was preparing to commemorate the coveted day by the publication of a volume of his selected writings and sermons.

However, our times are in God's hands; and the All-Wise Dispenser of human destinies, who whispers, "it is enough," even into the ear of the most faithful servant in His household, summoned Max Heller to his appointed seat among the great and good teachers in Israel that abide in life eternal, ten months before he had reached on earth his goal of three score and ten. Like the shepherd of the wilderness, the meekest of men, he was granted from his Pisgah-height only a glimpse into the Promised Land of his anticipation.

And this bereavement might indeed have had its privilege of grief here. But it shall not be my purpose to lament that our brother's

seat is empty in this honored circle. For his life was a triumph, not a tragedy. Oft tried and tested by hard duty and discipline, he nevertheless looked back upon his life, latterly, with such an overflow of happiness, that he bubbled over with gratitude, and out of a full heart repeated, day by day: "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits." He approached the end of his days as fearlessly as the granite rock faces the raging surge. He looked into the future with a faith in divine Providence which finds duty in sorrow and victory in defeat. Surrounded by his loving wife and children, in the presence of his devoted successor, he gave up his ghost to his Creator with a benediction upon his lips. And in this Conference which revered him as a sage, we shall not lament, "it is speedily gone, and we fly away"; in this Conference which he blessed with his personality and wisdom, we shall not bewail, our colleague is gone, his place will know him no more. Rather shall we continue to take pride in his strength of character, his devotion to professional duty and responsibility, his faith in God's sustaining grace which enabled him to stand like a pillar of strength among those who were awe-stricken by his example, when they beheld him "rise from before his dead," like the patriarch, and beside the grave of his first-born—his young, sweet, talented, married daughter—heard him pray with the faith that steels the heart and straightens the path:

> "Lord enlighten me in my darkness and strengthen me in my feebleness. Help me to recall with grateful appreciation all Thy kindnesses of other years which still remain to brighten my days.
>
> "Bring back to my conscience my duties towards those who look to me for companionship and aid, duties to which I dare not be unfaithful. Strengthen my resolution not to be selfish and weak, or to allow my sorrow to overpower and undo me, and help me to employ my strength in assisting those who are more sorely stricken than myself."

"Es waechst der Mensch mit seinen groessern Zwecken," observed the German poet. And with the growing years, Max Heller, the priest, העלה את נרתיה "raised aloft the lights of his Menorah," more and more his face shone in beauty, his mind grew in majestic sweep, his soul expanded in dignity, his heart in tolerance. Indeed, while still in the flesh, he illustrated in his own life, to a generation

of worldly teachers, how true was the observation of Rabbi Meir, his namesake, that "he who occupies himself with the Torah, for its own sake, merits many things, and the whole world is indebted to him. He loves God and he loves mankind; he makes glad God, and makes glad mankind. He is friendly and beloved. He is humble and reverential; pious, upright and faithful; God-fearing and virtuous. He gives counsel and knowledge, discernment and strength, possesses authority and judgment. He drinks inspiration from a cistern that never dries. He rises above human frailties and trivialities, can be long-suffering with small minds, and forgiving to petty natures." (Aboth, VI, 1).

And all this was reflected in his beautiful old age. Children loved him for his good humor; the young revered him for his wide interests; the old for his broad sympathies. His resonant, deep, well-modulated voice appealed to the prayerful; his erudition and logic to the thoughtful. His hoary head, his ruddy countenance, his undimmed eye were a crown of glory in any presence, a distinction in any gathering.

Last October, he and I met for the last time. It was at the New York meeting of the Jewish Agency. Eminent men were present among the Zionists and non-Zionists. Most of them were his personal friends; and they looked up to him with reverence and listened with awe as, at a dramatic moment in the proceedings, he pictured to them with poetic fervor the crowning experience of his life, when he stood midst the glories of the Holy Land. In his day he fought many a brave fight both with pen and tongue, in behalf of his conception of the philosophy of Zionism; and that hour seemed almost a vindication of one of the ruling passions of his life. His book upon his trip to Palestine, which is soon to appear, reveals that he loved the land of his fathers as did Rabbi Meir of old, who, dwelling in Asia, bade his disciples, "bury me by the shore, that the sea which washes the land of my fathers may also touch my bones." To see the plains of the Jordan with his own eyes and to climb the hills of Zion with his own feet was his chief joy. And I rejoice that I chanced to be present to see and hear him tell of it. For it was not premeditated that he and I should meet at that gathering which was destined to be the last time on earth that we were to walk the streets together, arm in arm in loving converse—we, who had first met as classmates in Cincinnati, forty-

nine years before, and who had walked together like Jonathan and David ever since. Without him, would the *Yeshibah Shel Maalah* never seem like heaven nor this *Yeshibah Shel Mateh* ever again be to me quite like home.

Forty-five years ago, this very day, Max Heller received from the lips of his master the sacred kiss of ordination; and I, who was present then, bear loving testimony here that all these years he was true to the promise of his youth and stood out among his colleagues as a consecrated priest of the Most High, a courageous preacher of righteousness, an untiring student of the Torah, a representative Jew in the eyes of the nation.

Two years he was associated with Dr. B. Felsenthal at Zion Congregation, Chicago, preaching in German and in English. It was a valuable but not a happy apprenticeship, on account of congregational partizanships for which neither rabbi was responsible. The best portion of another year he spent at Houston, Texas, in the pleasant environment of a genial, hospitable, southern congregation.

On July 11, 1886, there died at New Orleans Rabbi James K. Gutheim, who had been the honored minister of Temple Sinai for over twenty-five years, the popular hero of the Civil War and yellow fever epidemics, the distinguished citizen for whose tombstone the greatest southern preacher of the day, Dr. B. M. Palmer, wrote this inscription: "He was a man always to be found, when wanted, and to be trusted, when found."

In March, 1887, Heller was installed as this man's successor, and in that one pulpit he served forty successive years, until he himself requested to be relieved from active duty. As Rabbi Emeritus he found sweet reward in the privilege of living, like the Shunamite woman, among his own people. He died in the midst of those who had revered him as their father, and whom he had loved as his children and children's children.

A vast concourse of Jews and Gentiles followed him to his resting place; and it would have gratified him to learn that amongst those who had gathered to show him honor were many Negroes, Zionists, and co-religionists from Eastern Europe, with whom he had fraternized with sincerity, and whose cause he had espoused with warmth, both on the platform and in the press.

Max Heller was a charter member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and was frequently elected a member of the Executive Board. He served on important special commissions; preached the first Conference Sermon; read papers on The Theology of the Union Prayer Book, Samson Raphael Hirsch, Place of the Jew in the Racial Interpretation of the History of Civilization, and James K. Gutheim; and was the sixth president, presiding with dignity and forcefulness at Charlevoix in 1910, and at St. Paul-Minneapolis in 1911.

Spontaneously we think of Heller as a scholar, a student, a Talmid Hakamim, a disciple of the wise, a man endowed with the לשנן למודים "the tongue of them that are taught," as Isaiah described the Servant of God (L, 4-8) as the man who "wakeneth morning by morning to hear as they that are taught," ever eager to hear the voice of God, whencesoever it might come and whithersoever it might lead, that he might the better sustain with words him that is weary, espouse the cause of justice with a face of flint, trust in the triumph of righteousness without fear or dread of consequence.

Heller looked the scholar. He read and studied like a scholar. He thought like a scholar. He spoke like a scholar. He wrote like a scholar. He acted like a scholar. He was a scholar, at home in the faculty of Tulane University, at home anywhere in the company of the learned. He was not a German pedant, but he despised slovenly thinking and slovenly expression. He was not a snob; he could fraternize with the simple and the humble, but he was impatient with shallow thinking and pretentious oratory, and he could flay illogical and insincere conclusions with withering irony and sarcasm. In his own community he was regarded, after the death of Dr. Palmer, as the scholar *par excellence* in the southern pulpit. In American Jewry he was, by many, esteemed the ideal rabbi, who united in himself some of the best qualities of the old and the new school of teachers.

And indeed he had the advantages of both a European and an American education. All his plans had been completed to be in Prague, his birthplace (January 31, 1860), this very week, to celebrate with the remnants of his class the golden jubilee of his graduation from the Gymnasium, where he had felt himself especially favored by the enthusiasm of his professors of logic, history, prose composition

and universal literature. His youthful imagination was indelibly impressed by the intense Jewishness of the picturesque Bohemian ghetto, where he lived until his nineteenth year; and he came to America still young enough to absorb the best from his secular and rabbinical teachers and studies, and to get the most out of the life, culture and ideals of America. His classmates were proud of his speedy and accurate mastery of the English language. His teachers rejoiced in his devotion to neo-Hebrew, especially his admiration for Ahad Ha-Am, the essayist, and Bialik, the poet. His colleagues admired the dignity with which he followed his profession; and American Israel found a special charm in his editorials and many literary contributions to the Jewish press which, for elegance of style, maturity of judgment, and individualism of expression invariably bore the stamp of the student and the thinker.

He thought out his sermons with conscientiousness and great deliberation; and frequently put them upon paper with consummate care, particularly for holidays and special occasions, because he regarded the timely word of the preacher as a message from the Lord God.

He recognized the important function of reason in religion, and God gave him the "scholar's tongue;" and yet I am inclined to regard no feature of his ministry more distinctive than his persistent protest against the over-emphasis on intellectualism and scholarship in the rabbinate, to the exclusion of sentiment and spirituality, mysticism and ethical example.

On July 6, 1891, at Baltimore, he delivered our first Conference Sermon. His theme was, "The Word of the Pulpit—What it Ought to Be and What to Do." And it still sounds timely to hear him speak depreciatingly of the rabbi who preaches from books and plays with "brand-new citations from never a Jewish source, as if his teachings had grown on any but Jewish soil."

It is still a word in season to read: "The pulpit will never be itself or attain anything by aping the professional cathedra . . . After the latest fact of science has been considered, after the last deduction has been made, after philosophy has constructed its most recent systems, the battle between the spiritual and the material views remains as undecided as ever; and again, each time it is the heart out of which are the issues of life; the preacher, learned as he may be, has in the

pulpit only one legitimate authority, not the authority of the scholar, the speaker, the master of fact, thought, or word, but the force of the morally sublime man, the interpreter of man's most Godlike parts, as a voice lent to all the highest longings of the human heart. His word must come from the heavens; in his themes, in his conceptions, in his treatment, there must be something elevated." (Yearbook 2:44).

The burden of this Conference Sermon of thirty-eight years ago was the burden of his Baccalaureate Sermon a year ago at the Institute of Religion, namely, "Deepening versus Broadening"; as well as the burden of his very last published sermon, "Real and Sham Progress," delivered only a few months ago at the dedication of his new Sinai Temple. In fact, the gist of all his preaching, the key to his whole life, might be summed up in the words of next Sabbath's prophetical lesson: "Not by might and not by power, but by My spirit, says the Lord."

Heller understood, of course, that the rabbi must be a protagonist of civic and social duty. He must be unsparing with his tongue in his denunciation of unrighteousness, but he must also be brotherly and merciful in his contact with the dispossessed and underdogs of society. And they love to tell in New Orleans how Heller was at all times the indignant despiser of needless red tape in dealing with the poor, and the dependable tribune of the Negro, the immigrant, the laboring man, the Russian co-religionist, whom he dealt with as a friend, and welcomed across the threshold of his home as a brother. They still love to tell of his gallant fight, in noble company, against the abomination of the Louisiana lottery, and how it was the proudest experience of his life to have hurled defiance at the president of his congregation, in the midst of that moral battle, and to say to him, "the Lord God will help me, therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed."

And in the justification of pastoral service, Heller also stood out four square, against the ridicule of colleagues in high positions. The rabbi is not more bounden to the duty of "Gemillut Ḥesed," beneficence, than is his lay brother; but neither is he less so. With prophetic precedent, Max Heller thought with Isaiah, "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of them that are taught that I should know how to sustain with words him that is weary"; and I have simply

marveled how, in that enervating climate, a man, who was by choice and temperament a student, could and would so willingly have given so much of himself and his time and strength to pastoral work, the minister's bugbear and thief of time. It was the fruitage of his high sense of professional duty, his deep sympathy for suffering humanity, his sincere love of his fellow-man, as well as the result of the joy he found with his mellow geniality in the company of young and old, the pleasure he derived, like his brilliant mother, from conversation, the delight he got out of sharing others' joy, and the satisfaction he derived from teaching others and helping them, through personal contact, over their trials and troubles. It made of the erudite student a רע אהוב a truly beloved pastor, a father to two and three generations; and, in turn, it offered him the human material which lifted his sermons from the abstract to the practical, and enabled him to preach from a well that never ran dry.

As posterity said in loving appreciation of Rabbi Meir, of Tiberias, so would we say of our Rabbi Meir, of New Orleans, "He was a great man, a saint, and humble withal"; איש גדול, אדם קדוש, אדם צנוע realizing with our James Russell Lowell that "a great character is as rare a thing as a great genius, if it be not even a nobler form of it. For surely, it is easier to embody fine thinking, or delicate sentiment, or lofty aspiration in a book, than in a life."

And since "the lips of the dead are said to move again, when we repeat their words," let me, in this devoted friend's humble tribute of love to his three worthy children and his perfect helpmate of forty years, conclude this memorial hour by recalling some of the very words with which President Max Heller opened the convention at St. Paul when he said: "Religion is the raison d'être of the Jew. And it is as representative of a religion, not of a race, that we have a right, without detriment to our citizenship, to plead for our oppressd brothers in benighted lands, or for our undiminished rights in our own country.

"In addressing a rabbinical convention, it would almost seem presumption to labor the patent truth that religious teaching and religious example are both the outstanding achievement of our past and the sole justification of our survival, the cement of every loyalty that holds us together. Yet, as an ardent Zionist, who has always avowed

his convictions as such, without hesitation or reserve, I owe it to you and myself to forestall some of the misunderstandings that haunt the popular mind in this connection. In my view, and to my feeling, the religious life must be the crown and summit of any full-blown culture; the real point of divergence between Zionism and Anti-Zionism cannot be the question, as it is sometimes crudely put, whether we are a religion or a race, but whether we shall achieve our religious mission as a people scattered to the four corners of the globe, or as a nation upbuilding a typical culture upon its ancient soil. Upon the fact of the religious nature of our mission, there can be no difference save between extremists, either of nationalism at the one end, or of assimilationism at the other." (Year Book, 22:133). May the Father of Mercy send peace unto those who are near and peace unto him who is afar off.

WILLIAM LOEWENBERG

LOUIS WOLSEY

I have known William Loewenberg for the last five years during which he was a resident of Philadelphia. He has been a member of this Conference since 1891 and served on the Hymnal Revision Committee and the Committee on Synagog Music. He was appointed to that committee because of his fine knowledge of Jewish music. He was for many years Cantor of Congregation Rodeph Sholom in Philadelphia while Dr. Berkowitz was the Rabbi. He left that position to become Rabbi of Roanoke, Virginia, and from there he went to Scranton, Pennsylvania. Several compositions of his are in our Union Hymnal and are of such merit that the Committee has decided to retain them in the Revised book. He was one of the co-editors of our first Union Hymnal which was prepared by the Cantors' Association.

He was a man of fine Jewish piety, of splendid character; of genial and gracious temperament and had great love for his faith and his calling and had consecrated his entire life to Judaism. *Zecher zaddik livrocho.* May his memory be a blessing to us his colleagues.

LOUIS ARTHUR MISCHKIND

ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN

A week ago this day, (June 19, 1929), Louis Arthur Mischkind, my friend and classmate, our colleague, was translated from life to life. Severe was the shock, colleagues, when I was apprised of the fact by the President of this Conference. And difficult was the task he gave me to speak tonight the words that might adequately express our grief, that would fittingly voice our respect, that would justly evaluate the significance of our colleague's life. The task is difficult, first, because of my personal affection and respect for him, and, second, because *ba'ah shimesho beod yomom* "his sun is gone down, while it was yet day," indeed, ere it reached the noon-tide.

And yet, even in the brief span of his all-too-few years, Louis A. Mischkind has made an impress unforgettable. For he was in many respects unusual. Clear and keen of mind, of philosophic bent, he was one of the most scholarly of the younger members of this Conference. His knowledge was exact and deep, and in his intellectual pursuits he was logical, he was persistent, he was honest and he was thorough.

Born in Louisville, Ky., on August 12, 1895, he was brought to New York at an early age. There he received the beginnings of his Jewish education both from private instructors and in the Talmud Torah. He graduated from the Brooklyn elementary schools (Public School 84) at the age of 12, receiving the only gold medal given for scholarship. He graduated from Townsend Harris Hall (the High School Department of the College of the City of New York) at the age of sixteen. Three years later, at the age of nineteen, he received his B. A. degree from the University of Cincinnati, and was elected a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1916, at the age of twenty-one, he was a Master of Arts.

At the Hebrew Union College he was an honor student throughout his sojourn there, and was awarded, upon his graduation, the Oscar A. Berman Prize for excellence in studies throughout his collegiate career.

But Mischkind was not a bookworm. Learning, in his instance, was but an expression of his eager search and quest for truth. And if Raymond B. Fosdick was right when the other day in his bacca-

laureate address at Smith College he defined "the true end of education" to be "a capacity to be different, a contempt for majorities, a determination to climb mountains if one climbs alone"; if, as he said, "the duty of rebellion is the duty that is laid on all those who would call themselves educated," then was our colleague finely, truly educated. His was an active and restless spirit. Reared in a group environment that was surcharged with restlessness, with a praiseworthy discontent, grown up in a neighborhood where concepts were discussed and debated passionately, his mind was early directed to the formation of a social philosophy. Early in his life, he became familiar also with the grim significance of the economic struggle, with the disadvantage of the underprivileged, with the grave injustices existant in the established industrial order, the social waste and the misuse and abuse of power. These burned themselves into his soul, and as he grew in maturity, in understanding, in knowledge, his own rebellious spirit caught the flame of the prophetic challenge—and he became one of our most earnest, most understanding pleaders for a daring, a comprehensive, a straightforward program of Social Justice and Social Idealism.

He was a gifted son of our people—and uncompromising. His was a proud spirit—proud through the intensity of his convictions. To those of us who knew him intimately—he revealed charm and graces that were endearing. To those who knew him less intimately, but knew his honesty of purpose, his passion for the Right and Truth, his devotion to ideals, his intellectual sturdiness, his intelligent and vigorous liberalism, his fearlessness and probity—whether we shared his views or challenged them—he was the promising young leader, the honored and respected colleague.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis in annual session assembled enshrines his memory as it glories in his spirit. We thank God for the privilege that was ours to know him, if only for a brief period. He demonstrated the truth long ago stated by our sage, that

> "Honorable age is not so by reason of length of time;
> Nor is it reckoned by number of years:
> But wisdom is gray hair unto men,
> And an untarnished life is ripe old age.
> He being perfected in brief space—fulfilled long years;
> For his soul was well-pleasing unto God.

How is he now numbered among the children of God,
And his lot among the saints!"

Onno Adonoy harophai lishvoorai laiv u'mᴱchabesh lᴱatzvothom, shallem nichoomim la'avelim. Ten bᴱlibom yirᴱothᴱkho vᴱahavothᴱkho lᴱovdᴱkho bᴱlevov sholem, u'thᴱhi acharithom sholom. Amen.

"O Lord, who healest the broken hearted, and bindest up their wounds, grant Thy consolation unto the mourners; put into their hearts the fear and love of Thee, that they may serve Thee with a perfect heart; and may their latter end be peace. Amen."

D[1]

A SURVEY OF CONTEMPORANEOUS JEWISH HISTORY

(June, 1928, to June 15, 1929)

JACOB RADER MARCUS

RUSSIA

Eastern European Jewry still occupies the center of Jewish interest because the great masses who are resident there are the depositories of rabbinic life, but are not in a position to solve their own problems and require aid from others.

The three basic problems of the Jew in the Soviet republics are: anti-Semitism, agricultural settlement and industrialization. All three are but phases of one larger problem, that of adjustment of the Jew to a changed background. The birth of the Communist state did not spell the death knell of anti-Semitism. This disease of the mind had been too long instilled by the practices of the Church and the pronouncements of the old regime to be uprooted by a Soviet decree. The masses of Russian peasants still hate the Jew; the Communists, both proletariat and intelligensia continue to show their deep-seated prejudice in the workshops, hospitals, offices and colleges. The government is fighting honestly and powerfully to crush anti-Semitism through decree, through education, through public trials, through severer penalties, and has thus far succeeded in preventing mass violence.

The most vicious type of oppression comes from the Jews themselves. The Yevsektzia, the atheistic, Jewish, communistic group has taken upon itself the task of crushing the Jewish religion. It is this group that is constantly agitating for the change of synagogs into clubs, that opposes the distribution of unleavened bread on the Passover, performs mock *Sedorim,* opposes the Sabbath, scoffs at circumcision, fights the use of Hebrew, ferrets out the *Chedorim,* and ruthlessly stamps out Zionism. It is this group that is completely estranging the Jew from Judaism, that is developing a new type of Jew, one who is aggressive, Western, anti-religious. Judaism, the religion, has little future in Russia. It is this very group of Jewish communists that produces the communal leaders of Russia, the men

who direct the task of economic rehabilitation and gain in power as their work, financed by American relief funds, succeeds. American Jewry is unwittingly strengthening the power of those Jews in Russia who are doing most to crush Judaism.

Anti-Semitism in the land of the Soviets is an old problem; the economic adjustment is a new one. Under the Romanoffs this was largely a matter of a bourgeois group seeking larger economic opportunities in a bourgeois society. Under the Soviets economic adjustment is a matter of this same group, petty traders for the most part, seeking to adjust itself to a society that admits only of agricultural and industrial activity. Jewry has succeeded remarkably for the most part. There are close to 3,000,000 Jews in all the Russias and there are only 1,000,000, one-third, who are still declassed. It is remarkable that two-thirds have already found themselves. The work of providing for this important one-third of Russian Jewry is being carried on largely under American-Jewish direction and with American monies. There are many difficulties. The Bira-Bidjan project in the Far East, not sponsored, by the way, by the Americans, has proved a dismal failure; in the American colonies in South Russia, and in the Crimea, crop failures and droughts have been encountered. Still mass settlement of the land is continuing on an even larger scale, so that there are now altogether about 200,000 Jews on Russian soil, with about a million and a quarter acres. The desire of the Jew, who is normally a believer in private initiative, to go on the soil will be dampened, I believe, when the government will begin to impose on the Jewish Kulak or wealthy peasant, the disabilities already applied to the non-Jewish Kulak. The present tendency of the Soviets to limit the growth of the non-communistic, rich peasant by establishing huge state domains tilled by agricultural proletarians will certainly not appeal to the Jew.

The agricultural colonization work in Russia has been very successful yet it is obvious that it will not solve the problem of the unassorted Jew in that country. There are still a million Jews there who must find themselves, five times as many as are already settled on the land. A more fruitful line of activity is the attempt to industrialize the Jews. This work is now being actively carried on by the

Soviets with the aid of the ORT and the Joint Distribution Committee. The government has initiated a number of projects to train the declassed Jews in the metal, shoe, sugar, textile and building trades. The advantage of an industrialized Jewry is that it can enjoy the higher standards of city life with all its cultural implications. It demands a less radical departure from the urban traditions of the last 2000 years.

There is no certainty either that the stimulation of home industry through the supply of machinery, raw material and credit facilities would be a permanent solution. Russia is an agrarian land, home industry is at this hour most necessary, but tomorrow, due to the tremendous economic leaps made by the Soviets, the factory industry may be the norm. It would seem therefore, to be far more advisable to anticipate the inevitable by developing at once factory industries. This is already done in some towns with American help.

Despite the crop failure in parts of Russia, in spite of the growing anti-Semitism in many quarters, in spite of the oppositional policy of the Jewish communists, Jewry is slowly recovering. The increasing emphasis laid on industry by the government and the relief agencies will provide for large numbers, and, with those already on the land, may so diversify Jewish occupations that anti-Semitism will be somewhat ameliorated. The extension of foreign concessions and the probable recognition by the MacDonald and Hoover governments will so facilitate political and economic contact between Russia and other lands that an improvement of the status of the Jew is bound to ensue.

POLAND

The present Polish government, dominated by Marshal Pilsudski since May, 1926, seems to be making an attempt to treat the Jews fairly. But even it looks upon the Jews as an alien and closes to him the basic utilities and key industries which are nearly all under Civil Service or government supervision. Quite a number of laws dating from the Czaristic days creating discrimination in the civil and economic life are still in force. Every effort on the part of Jewry aided by some of the liberal groups to secure their abolition has been in vain. The government, if it does desire to abolish these restrictions,

does not feel that it is strong enough to risk the anger of the anti-Jewish elements. All strata in society are filled with a political suspicion of the Jew which has been nourished for decades by chauvinistic governments. The people, encouraged by the Church, are filled with a religious fanaticism that flares out openly under the slightest provocation.

Poland has not yet found itself economically, wedged in between hostile Germany and Russia. Business life is limited; there is an economic depression, and the opportunities in the hands of the government are naturally given quicker to the Polish Catholic than to the Polish Jew. Poland is decidedly an agrarian country. The Jews of the land are an urban group. The peasants are thus furthered at the cost of the Jew. The economic class that is doing much to further the country is given little encouragement. Jewish communal and cultural requirements are given very low subventions. This is an economic disability, for the Jew must support both his own and the general institutions. The refusal of the government to support the Jewish schools adequately is but one phase of the obvious attempt throughout the Eastern European area to break down the rights of the minority groups and to force them to accept the nationalization program of the majority. Jewry in Poland has large numbers of artisans, small merchants, and craftsmen. Large scale production, state monopolies, marketing cooperatives, and the introduction of machinery are robbing them of a means of livelihood. Such an act of economic change which appears inevitable in our modern capitalistic society should be done slowly and with sympathy. There is no reason to believe that the Polish authorities are as considerate as they might be. The untoward business conditions have also affected the rabbinical academies. The Joint Distribution Committee has withdrawn its support and thousands of students, it is reported, go hungry. Yet, in spite of this distress, Poland still continues to be the greatest center of rabbinical learning today, preserving the best traditions of orthodox life.

The government is making an effort to control those anti-Semitic forces that seek to foment violence, and newspapers that preach an economic boycott or accuse the Jews of ritual murder have been confiscated. Accusations of ritual murder, host desecrations, and sac-

rilege occur frequently now. The atmosphere is almost mediaeval. The outstanding outrage of the year occurred on June 3, 1929, when a group of Lemberg students destroyed two Jewish newspaper plants, wrecked a Jewish High School, dormitory and two synagogs. The charge of the rabid nationalist press was that Jewish girls had mocked or thrown stones at a religious procession. The accusation was false and was furthered by the National Democratic party, now out of office, which seeks, under the guise of a Jewish issue, to regain power. Despite the fact that the priest who led the procession exculpated the Jews, the prelates of the district maintained the charge against them. The government intervened to reestablish order.

If we are to believe Deputy Isaac Gruenbaum, it would appear that a *de facto numerus clausus* is in existence in Polish secondary schools. Evidently the country is afraid to grant to the Jew educational opportunities lest he become a power in its political and economic life. The Jews in Poland might help themselves if they united. They are over 10 per cent of the total population. But their strength is wasted in internal struggle. There are at least three main parties and each faction, in turn, is divided into groups that fight one another bitterly. Some parties in Parliament are in opposition to the government, others support it. The past year in Poland, outside of the Lemberg riots of June, has been a quiet one, but there has been no appreciable improvement in the economic or civil position of the Jew, so that it is difficult to believe that the Jewish question in Poland will find a speedy solution. A solution would be a matter of good will, and I question very much if there can be any, as long as the State looks upon the Jew as an alien and the Church tolerates and refuses to fight the religious libels that are constantly being made in Poland.

EAST EUROPEAN RELIEF

Palliative relief was still necessary in the East European area this past year. Considerable help had to be given to many Jews in the Russian cities and the extreme cold last winter ruined the crops and caused much distress to Jewry throughout Lithuania, parts of Poland, Moldavia and Bessarabia. The Bessarabians suffering is accentuated due to administrative changes by the Roumanians who have undermined the importance of Kishineff, a great Jewish center under the old Russian regime.

The millions of Jews in the old war zone, in Russia, the Baltic lands, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania and Hungary are still paying for the World War. Jewry was almost annihiliated then, and has only been kept alive the last 10 years through the efforts of America which has spent 80 millions in relief. The rebuilding of East European Jewry, largely the work of America, is one of the finest and most constructive pieces of philanthropic work in all history. Jewry in Eastern European lands cannot escape by migration as it did years ago. It must find itself in the land where it is. It is a tremendous problem to make millions self-supporting; to preach the gospel of manual labor and self-help to thousands of petty traders whose sole ideal and purpose in life was study of the Torah. An economic and social transformation of a whole people must now be effected. The chief agent in this process of readjusting is still the Joint Distribution Committee. So much progress has already been made that many of the institutions set up by their American coreligionists have been taken over by East European Jewry and are already partially self-supporting. Every possible modern foundation of economic, social, spiritual and physical welfare has been established by the Joint Distribution Committee and is giving service. The Jews of these lands, however, require at least 5 more years of substantial help before they are altogether self-supporting, and a generation before they completely adjust themselves.

THE BALTIC LANDS, LITHUANIA AND ROUMANIA

Jewry in Estonia and Litvia—both small lands—appear, judging from their silence, to be content, but conditions in Lithuania are very much like those in Poland. Jewry, here, too, is urban and during the present economic crisis its position is not being ameliorated by a chauvinistic government dominated by agrarian interests.

Roumanian Jewry is better off today than it was a year ago. The riots in Transylvania in the winter of 1927, when the anti-Semitic student body ran wild, brought their own reaction. Even the Roumanians were ashamed of themselves and in the elections that followed not a single anti-Semite was returned to parliament. They are as virulent as ever, but without power for the new National Peasant government of Maniu is holding them in check. The Maniu govern-

ment is not unfriendly to the Jews, but in its attitude toward the cultural rights of Jewry it is also following the policy which has become traditional in Roumania since the minority rights were imposed on the land. Maniu, too, is trying to cut down Jewish cultural autonomy. Citizenship is being accorded very slowly to the unassorted Jews in the land; the state has even dared to intervene in the administration of the Kehillahs, and Jewish schools and teachers seminaries are by no means receiving the support to which they are entitled. Jewish children still have to attend the government schools on the Sabbath. Unfortunately there is just as little unity among Jews here as anywhere else in Eastern Europe. The Union of Roumanian Jews is sympathetic politically to the ousted, conservative Bratianu government. The Zionists, on the other hand, favor the National Peasants party. This alignment of the Union of Roumanian Jews with the conservative government is, no doubt, determined by the fact that the Bratianu party is an industrial group, with which urban Jewry has most in common, economically.

MINORITY RIGHTS

The problem of minority rights is an acute one in Eastern Europe. The governments are seeking to curtail the rights of their minorities while the minorities are seeking to maintain their guaranteed privileges. A determined effort was made in the League of Nations this past year by a group of interested lands to increase the protection of their scattered nationals but the only changes made were provisions for more frequent meetings of the committee on Minorities and for the publication of decisions. Jewish statesmen, at Geneva, as a matter of fact, were not in sympathy with any radical change fearing lest the minority rights already granted be revoked and Jewry in the various lands be exposed to a policy of ruthless nationalization by an intolerant majority.

HUNGARY

Petty reaction most aptly characterizes the attitude of the present Horthy regime in Hungary toward the Jew. The numerus clausus has been eliminated in theory, but remains in practice. A Jewish student was sued because he posed as a Christian to avoid this law. Riots at the universities were frequent. The Who's Who in Hunga-

rian Jewry was confiscated because it libeled Magyars by exposing them as former Jews. The government has refused the application of many who desire to Magyarize their Jewish names, declaring that such names were not a right but a privilege. Thousands of Jews who are seeking citizenship have been compelled to wait indefinitely, and in one township the district judge even refused the Jews the right of settlement.

GERMANY

The Jewish problem in the German Republic is not one of civil or political rights. Both in the Reich and in Prussia a liberal government is in power. There is, of course, constant attack by the various anti-Semitic parties, but they now have little influence in public life, for less than 3 per cent of the deputies are avowed anti-Semites. There is considerable anti-Jewish sentiment in the large nationalistic parties and among the older civil officials, a sentiment that finds its lowest level in children and callow youth who desecrate Jewish cemeteries. In the last 6 years over 70 burial places, and a number of synagogs have been profaned by them. Anti-Semitism displayed itself, too, in the refusal on the part of the nationalists in the Berlin city government to agree to a gift to Einstein on the occasion of his 50th birthday. His new Unitary Field Theory has brought him acclaim from distinguished scientists, but also the charge of atheism by Cardinal O'Connell and the Vatican press.

Even the ritual murder accusation was dished up again this year. An editor was sentenced to jail for two months in Breslau for this lie, but this did not prevent it from springing up again in Bavaria around the Passover season. Bavarian Jewry was shocked at this mediaevalism, and possibly a little frightened. Constant complaints of ritual murder are received by the German police, but a suspicious odor may only turn out to be the fumes of an inhalation lamp of an asthmatic old man. In Warsaw, in a Bulgarian village, in Memel, the charge was also leveled this last Passover season against the Jews, but fortunately in all cases the lie could be disproved.

Jewry here has been trying for a number of years to form a national organization of all German Jewish communities. This year, too, the attempt has failed although it can hardly be doubted that ultimately a Union will be effected. The various Jewish groups in Ger-

many are gradually developing a sense of solidarity. The Central Union of German Jews has refused to join the Jewish Agency, but has given up the "Die-Hard" policy which it flaunted only a few years ago. The East European Jews in Germany are being gradually drawn into the communal life, no doubt through the sympathetic German Zionists who for the first time have secured power in the communal politics.

The World Jewish Women's Congress that met this year in Hamburg decided to form a World Federation of Jewish Women. This congress concerned itself seriously with the rabbinic laws that operate against women in our present day civilization. (Laws of Agunoth, Chalizah, prohibition of a Kohen to marry a widowed or divorced woman.) The chance of inducing the extreme wing of the orthodox rabbinate to make any changes in these matters seems remote indeed.

AUSTRIA

Austria is often a pale reflection of Germany. There is this difference: the authorities are much weaker and the anti-Semites, accordingly, are more powerful. Riots occur frequently at the great universities, especially in Vienna as the rowdy nationalist students attempt to throw the Jews out while the university authorities look on helplessly. It is not surprising, therefore, that the international anti-Semitic movement to abolish shechitah should find expression in the city of Vienna. The international congress of Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, despite the fact that it had a Jewish chairman, degenerated into an attack on the Jewish method of slaughtering. Agitation has been strong this year against the Jewish mode of slaughter, all over the world, from Connecticut to Warsaw, and particularly virulent in Norway. Jews in various European countries have been so alarmed that they contemplate calling an international congress to fight this prejudice with the aid of distinguished scientists who are convinced of the humanity of the Jewish mode of slaughtering.

THE ROMANCE LANDS

France, the land of the Dreyfus affaire is quiet. Torres, the brilliant defender of Schwarzbard, has resigned as president of the League to fight anti-Semitism because he considered the existence of

the League unnecessary. Others disagreed with him, but it is interesting to note that when the Jewish students at the University of Montpellier refused to listen to the Polish anti-Semite Professor Lots of Warsaw, the French students joined them in their protest.

The Pro-Marano Committee of Paris, which investigated the situation in Portugal, found that the Maranos there, with the support of American and English forces, are gradually coming back into the fold. The attempt of a group of Catholic women to hinder this return in Braganza has failed.

On February 11, 1929, the Italian pact was signed making peace between the Pope and Italy. This pact recognizes the sovereignty of the Pope in the Vatican City and gives the Church in Italy special advantages in the sphere of education, marriage and divorce. The Church will now direct the religious education of Italy's youth in the secondary schools. Fascistic chauvinism and papal clericalism will go hand in hand. This combination of nationalism and the Church has always brought trouble into Jewish life. The Church by a series of Corcordats in various parts of Europe, by advances even in Russia, by the Italian pact, is growing in influence. The Orthodox Agudah may look with favor upon this growth of the religious point of view in international affairs, but the average Jew must view with trepidation the strengthening of an organization which has and must by its inherent nature oppose equal rights to the Jew. In view of this strengthening of the Church in Italy it is to be hoped that the report is true that the Italian Rabbinical College will reopen in Florence and that the Israelitish Review will again be published. Mussolini is still sympathetic to Jewry and Zionism, he told a Zionist delegation that, in the same breath, assured him of their patriotism and the economic advantages of Italian relations with Palestine.

ENGLAND

Despite the fact that English Jewry is less than one per cent of the total population it plays a large part in the general life of Great Britain. In the June elections to Parliament 14 Jews were elected, representing every shade of opinion. English Jewry does not play the part in international Jewish affairs that it played a generation ago when England aroused the conscience of the world against Russia

and Roumania. Nevertheless, English Jewry, through its admirable Joint Foreign Committee, lead by Lucien Wolf, the dean of Jewish statesmen, is doing admirable service. After all, the mass of Jews are still in Europe and the political agencies determining their future are still on that continent. England in the League of Nations can do more to further the political position of the Jew in East European lands than the United States, remote and removed from the councils of nations.

PALESTINE

The two major problems in Jewish life today are the rehabilitation of East European Jewry and the rebuilding of Palestine. The past twelve months in the Holy Land have seen a gradual improvement in every field of activity, an improvement that should continue under the new Labor Government in England, which is more sympathetic to Zionism than its Conservative predecessor. Slowly an attitude of compromise in the matter of an independent state is being engendered by certain groups within Zionism. Many Jews look with favor on the Seven Dominion idea which will make of Palestine a Dominion of the British Empire after the expiration of the mandate. Under this arrangement Jewry, no doubt, would be an ethnic enclave in an Arabic-British Dominion as the French of Quebec today are in Canada. In all probability this will be the fate of Palestine, for the British need and will keep Palestine as the gate to the East now that Egypt is threatening Suez. Another group of Jews look with favor on the Brith Shalom movement which would make Palestine a binational state of Jews and Arabs.

The Arabs have been and are still in constant opposition to all political and economic movements of the Jews. This opposition manifested itself drastically last September during the Yom Kippur services at the Wailing Wall. During the services an English official removed a screen that separated the men from the women. This annoyance, on the most holy day, at the most sacred spot, excited World Jewry to a tremendous degree. The English authorities, who intervened at the request of the Arabs, the owners of the Western Wall, claim that the Jews had acted counter to their customary rights. The Jews, on the other hand, assert that they had permission to use the screen and also chairs for seating, another moot question. If both

parties are right then it seems that the British had made promises to both, a not unusual procedure in English colonial policy. The issue has been magnified because of racial and political differences and has caused much bad blood. It is not improbable that a more courteous British official might have avoided this deplorable affair.

In October of 1928 a union was effected of American non-Zionists under Marshall and of Zionists under Weizmann to set up an extended Jewish Agency to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. On the basis of a constitution allowing equal representation to both groups, the new Jewish Agency will meet in Zurich some time this summer to take up the work of rebuilding Pelestine under the banner of World Jewry. Although individuals of Reform and Liberal affiliation have joined the Agency movement, Liberal and Reform organizations, fearing to compromise their position as neutral Jewish societies, or objecting to a program of Jewish nationalism, have not officially associated themselves with this new institution. Typical is the attitude of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* which refuses to join because it is an international body and therefore cannot represent French Jewry. The historian might be lead to think that this international character would fit it best for an international task such as the Palestinian work. Indeed it is not improbable that the *Alliance* is so French that it will not associate itself with a movement that will improve the condition of an English mandate that is neighbor to the Syrian mandate, particularly since the French oil interests are disgruntled lest Mosul oil may flow through Haifa and not through Syria. Maurice Hexter has pointed out that the new Jewish Agency will give American Jewish leaders a new outlook on international affairs and a better understanding of Palestinian problems which will be reflected in their attitude to Jewish problems in the United States. In the international sphere, he added, the Jewish Agency will sooner or later be considered as the international mouthpiece of organized Jewry throughout the world and Jewry will develop international statesmen who will be of inestimable value in many directions. The greatest significance of the Agency, I believee, is not that it may rebuild Palestine, but that it unites World Jewry into a common Jewish effort.

The economic condition of Palestine is again becoming normal.

The years 1925 into 1928 were years of crisis and depression, and the year 1928 suffered in addition from drought and locusts. But 1929 has already begun to show a change. The economic life will certainly be improved by the building of the Haifa harbor which may one day be the chief port of transshipment of British goods between the East and the West. New orange plantations and the development of a number of new industries at Tel Aviv are helping materially; the Fair held in the latter city this Spring was quite successful. The most significant economic event of the past year was the granting of the very important Dead Sea concession for chemicals to a group sympathetic to Zionism. The concession was partially financed by the Mack-Brandies group of American Zionists.

In the field of Jewish culture, Palestine is continuing to move forward. The University, now a research institute, limiting itself to Judaic studies and the sciences, will ultimately develop an undergraduate school giving degrees. This no doubt would be advisable since a considerable number of Jews go out of the country for their college education. The Wolffsohn Memorial Library, a most beautiful building on Mt. Scopas, will be available this summer for use. There are already over 200,000 volumes there and without question, in a few years, it will be the most important general library in the Near and Middle East. The Moses B. Salomon $3,000,000 art collection, which has just been given as a nucleus for a Palestine Jewish Museum will, with the new Rockefeller Museum, help make of the land a real cultural center. Printing as an industry and as a cultural medium is making strides in the land, for Hebrew books on all subjects are being published. The Westernization mania which has induced the Turks and the Russians to abandon their alphabets has induced some Palestinians to print Hebrew in the Latin alphabet. The Dvir Press, with which Bialik is associated, and which has just received a subvention from Rosenwald has just finished a Hebrew edition of Websters dictionary. This is indeed a notable achievement and evidences, in a most eloquent way, the flexibility of the Hebrew vocabulary. Among the Zionists themselves there is division in cultural matters. The Mizrachi insists that Jewish education be religious; the average Zionist teacher has a secular bias. The Mizrachi, which is not only orthodox in religious matters but also Zion-

istic, is indignant that the powerful Agudath Israel group, which it helps to support in Palestine, is fighting Zionism bitterly. It was an Agudath Israel group in Oradea Mare, Transylvania, which, with a Liberal Jewish congregation, refused to allow representatives of the Zionist organization to make an appeal in their community, despite the fact that World Jewry rose solidly in their defense less than two years ago when Roumanian student-rowdies raided and ransacked the Jewish synagogs and homes.

YEMEN

Possibly the most industrious group of Jews in Palestine are the small but sturdy Yemenites from Southern Arabia. An investigation into their condition in the Imamate of Yemen shows that the old mediaeval disabilities, imposed in part in the 7th century by the Moslems, still obtain. Emigration is forbidden, orphans are forcibly converted to Islam; disease and famine are frequent. It is hoped that when the British Agent is appointed to this state that something may be done to improve the position of these unfortunates.

TURKEY

Turkey, which once ruled Yemen, has gone to the other extreme. She has thrown overboard almost everything Moslem, has become a completely secularized, Western, aggressive, chauvinistic state. Jewish minority rights have been almost completely disregarded and the League of Nations has done and will certainly do nothing. Jews are being ruthlessly forced into a Turkish mold. The speaking of Turkish is insisted upon, and it is reported that, in some cases, the minority schools are being closed, in others, Jewish prayers and the teaching of Jewish history are forbidden. In June a bill was brought before parliament to bar all aliens from many important professions and trades. If this bill passes large numbers of Jews will be vitally affected. The next generation for Turkish Jewry, a generation of transition and adjustment, will be very difficult unless, as it is possible, Mustapha Kemal and his policy of doctrinaire absolutism is overthrown, and a more natural and moderate policy of Westernization is adopted.

THE UNITED STATES

Organization and Leadership

Despite the fact that these United States can lay no claim to absolute leadership in matters of Jewish spiritual life there can be no question that it does lead in the maintenance of the political and civil rights of the Jew everywhere. No major movement, even that of a spiritual character can well be carried on without the support of American Jewry. The accomplishments in the world of Jewish statesmanship in the past 10 years have been possible because of a united effort on the part of American Jewry, and this realization is inducing American leaders to encourage forms of organization here that lead to even greater unity. The Joint Distribution Committee is to be reorganized homogeneously, so that it will represent all groups in this country and not remain as a federative society merely pooling the work of three great groups. An attempt is also being made to bring about a fusion of the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress so that there will be but one great organization seeking to protect the interests of Jewry.

ANTI-SEMITISM

We cannot have too much good will between Jews and Christians in this country for anti-Semitism is by no means dead here. The Jews, certainly, are the very milk of human kindness. When Henry Ford, who more than any other man of this country has poisoned the minds of millions for generations against the Jews, appeared by invitation at a Jewish banquet, the crowd got up and cheered him. The past 12 months have been full of unpleasant incidents in Jewish life in this country. The courts in Wisconsin have decided that although it may be "bad form" to expel Jews as Jews from golf clubs, it is certainly legal. There is quite a bit of talk that an unofficial numerus clausus is being exercised in some of our American colleges not only against students, but also against instructors. Brown University, that has a student body that is 20 per cent Jewish, would not until this year allow a Jewish fraternity on the campus although the other reputed non-sectarian fraternities there would admit no Jews. In some of our hospitals a Jew cannot obtain interneship and Jewish physicians in some cities experience so much difficulty in the clinics

that they are agitating for Jewish hospitals. Whether a Jewish religious community should support the average so-called Jewish hospital, which blithely ignores every aspect of Jewish religious life and observance, is a question that ultimately must be seriously considered.

In the world of employment, Jews, including professional men, assert that there is a definite discrimination against them. In Washington it was necessary to introduce a bill to forbid racial and religious incitement, and in New York it was necessary to appeal to David Belasco and Morris Gest not to produce the Freiburg Passion Play in the Hippodrome. Louis Marshall appealed in vain to these two Jews who produced a spectacle that defamed Jewry and aroused prejudice. Marshall appealed hoping that the Christian community would rise in protest against this vulgarization of their holiest beliefs, and that the State would intervene to stop a personification of the deity, but he was disappointed. The Christian clergy did not raise their voice for to many of them "the last two days of Jesus are historic facts and religious dogmas."

Gest and Belasco staged the crucifixion of Jesus the same month, that all over the world benighted peasants and hate-inflamed intelligent people accused the Jews of ritual murder. It is tragic to reflect that last October, during the holyday season, this ritual murder accusation was repeated in this country and probably for the first time. In the city of Massena, New York, after a girl had disappeared, many people of the community convinced that the Jews had done away with her for religious purposes, appealed to Mayor Hawes, who, through Trooper McCann, summoned the rabbi and interrogated him about Jewish ritual murder customs. The Mayor was reprimanded and the trooper was later punished by the authorities for this libel, but the memory of this indignity will remain long in the consciousness of the American Jew.

On April the 10th, 1929, the Supreme Court of Georgia ruled that a Jew cannot be barred from the jury lists and thus reversed the decision of a county court which had refused to intervene when malicious county commissioners had excluded Jews from the jury panels. It is sad to reflect how easy it has been for Americans to forget the ideals of justice for which their ancestors fought over a century ago. But what can we expect of the provincial anti-Semite when we know

that even the Daughters of the American Revolution were issuing a pamphlet which was based on the lying Protocol of the Elders of Zion?

In the important elections of last winter religion played an important part. The Rebbe of Zydaczow, who is now in Muncacz, prayed and fasted for Hoover's election with results that are patent to every one. Religion also contributed materially to the defeat of Smith, a Catholic. Did it play a part in the defeat of the Jew, Ottinger? It seems not. It is interesting to note, however, that while the Jewish population of Great Britain is only .6 of the general population and the United States has 3.58, nevertheless England has not only proportionately, but also absolutely more Jews in major political positions. It is a reflection, either on the American Jew or American bureaucracy, that in a country containing almost 4,300,000 Jews, many of whom are really outstanding, there are but two diplomats in minor positions, one supreme court justice, and but one major appointee in the administrative offices.

IMMIGRATION

It is not fortuitous that one considers the immigration problem after anti-Semitism. Both have as a common basis a belief in the superiority of one race over another. Our present immigration policies are not primarily concerned with economic needs but with the securing rather of the proper selected Nordic stock for future citizenship. The new 1930 census will analyze the racial composition of American citizenry. The past year has witnessed a vigorous agitation on the part of a powerful "patriotic" lobby to still further curtail admissions to the United States, and a number of bills have been introduced that show very definitely the trend in immigration legislation. Immigration has been doomed since 1924 and complete exclusion is inevitable. But the same forces that, for racial and religious reasons, are closing the gates are also seeking for compulsory registration and rigid surveillance of all aliens. This last measure can only be avoided by naturalization, but citizenship, too, will in the future become more and more difficult to obtain. Less than 12,000 Jews were admitted to the United States in 1928, although this is about 12 per cent of the total number admitted, a fair amount when one

realizes that the Jews are less than 4 per cent of the total population. World Jewish migration has practically ceased. Only 30,000 could get out of Eastern Europe and they were scattered over the United States, the Argentine, Brazil, Canada, Palestine, Australia, France and South Africa. It is obvious that all Jewries in the future must find themselves in their own lands or perish.

EDUCATION

The stopping of immigration to America has changed the focus of communal activity from help for immigrants to help of a cultural character for their children. Most public workers today agree that the major problem in American life is Jewish education. Gradually everyone is beginning to recognize this fact and more effort is being exerted in the training of rabbis and teachers, youth and adults. The Hillel Foundations will attempt to educate the younger college generation and the Menorah Foundation will encourage academic research in this country after the fashion of the Berlin Academy for the Science of Judaism. This scientific approach to Judaism, the goal of Zunz, will certainly gain here through the new chair of Jewish history and literature at Columbia endowed by Mrs. Nathan J. Miller. Other chairs for a study of Judaism were established at the Universities in Munich, Cracow and Dorpat in Estonia. To cope with their growing problems the major theological seminaries in this country have embarked on large building programs, and the different national religious organizations are seeking endowments to carry on their work which is largely of an educational character. The orthodox have joined the secularists in the wish to bring Hebrew into the High Schools. The cultural societies, of course, want Hebrew solely as a classical and renascent modern language. The desire for parochial schools, the goal of many orthodox, has culminated in the Yeshibah College of New York, the first Jewish college in the world. There has been some agitation this past year for a non-sectarian Jewish university and even a report of an initial endowment fund of $200,000 given by a Catholic, but nothing has thus far come of this movement which aims at providing a proper place for Jewish students and instructors who experience prejudice elsewhere.

RELIGION, PHILANTHROPY, STATISTICS

The programs of the religious associations of national scope, that met this past year, are of course controlled by their own particular point of view. The orthodox group is interested in the five day week, the standardization of shechitah, the improvement of the position of the old fashioned rabbi, who seems to be doomed even in American orthodoxy, and in polemics against the Reform and the Conservative Jews. The program of the Reform Jews and the Conservatives is almost identical, the modern technique of approach is employed equally skillfully by both of them, so that one may well question the statement of a Reform lay leader who said at the last convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that the next generation will witness the absorption into the Reform Synagog of the millions who are still fighting bravely a "hopeless battle to maintain mediaeval culture in the midst of a Western civilization."

American Reform Jews have been very influential in developing the World Union for Liberal Judaism which last met in Berlin, August, 1928. The exchange of opinion that followed between the various leaders were certainly of value and German Jewry was shaken out of its isolation and made to realize the power of Jewish religious liberalism elsewhere. This meeting, however, exposed the broad chasm that exists between Reformers in this country and Liberals elsewhere, yet at the same time served to put a check on that type of American and English radicalism that does not take account of Jewish historical sentiment and threatens world unity.

One of the most remarkable phases of present day life is the support the American Jew gives to non-sectarian philanthropy. Rosenwald, Littauer and the Guggenheims here have expended princely sums, and Baron, the Jewish Cossack, who was a tobacco worker in the United States is giving England an example in munificence. In the field of Jewish philanthropy the outstanding act of the year is the $5,000,000 gift of Rosenwald for Jewish colonization in Russia. All Jews in America have given freely for foreign relief and if, as a well known social worker has said, the spiritual future of American Jewry is dependent on its response to appeals from abroad, then, indeed, its spiritual future is indubitably guaranteed. A Jewish community like Newark has in the last 5 years given $7,300,000 for relief and

communal purposes. This is a remarkable, but also a typical record. Philanthropy as an institution has so progressed here that it has been proposed that there be established a Joint Council of the Jewish philanthropic federations of all the cities in this country for the better study of social service problems.

There is no finer philanthropy than world peace and Jewry is mindful of this. August the 27th, 1928, the Briand-Kellogg treaty renouncing war was signed by 15 nations. A number of the ideas in this pact owe their origin to Salmon O. Levinson, a Chicago attorney who has travelled all over the world trying to induce the great nations to outlaw war. This year Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York, asked for a Peace College where all the arts of peace, including diplomacy, might be taught, and in Germany, Einstein has made a plea that all war cease.

A study of the Jewish population of the United States that was published in the 1928 American Jewish Year Book shows that there are now over 4,300,000 Jews in the States and that there has been a growth of about 20 per cent in the last 10 years due to natural increase and immigration. Most Jews are settled in the northeastern part of the country; the vast majority in the cities, but there is a growing tendency, probably as a result of too keen economic competition to filter into the smaller towns and villages in all the states of the Union. A study of Jewish congregations made by Dr. Linfield for the United States Bureau of the Census shows that there are almost 3000 congregations in this country, an increase of almost 80 per cent in the last 20 years. American Judaism is growing.

ANNIVERSARIES IN 1930

450th Anniversary

1480. Isabella established the Inquisition in Castile which was largely responsible not only for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, but also for untold misery to Maranos and Jews down into the 19th century.

200th Anniversary

1730. The Shearith Israel Synagog of New York, the first public synagog in the United States, was dedicated in 1730.

Herz Cerfbeer, the first great Franco-Jewish communal worker and emancipater, was born in 1730.

NECROLOGIES

BRADT, GUSTAV, Dr. Physician. Furtherer of the Science of Judaism.

The death of Sanitaetsrat Gustav Bradt in Munich, on the 24th of September, 1928, at the age of 57, was a genuine loss to Jewry. Bradt was a devoted Jew with a fine appreciation of the needs of Jewish scholarship. He was one of the founders of the Academy of Jewish Science in Berlin, the organization which is doing so much to carry on the ideals of Zunz and his followers. Bradt gave himself heart and soul to a rehabilitation of Jewish studies in Germany in the terrible post-war inflation period and it is largely due to his efforts that the Aacademy was able to do the fine work it has done. He was a simple, modest man, a charming personality, a friend of the poor student, an admirable Jew. His death is indeed a keen loss to World Jewry.

KRAUS, ADOLF. Jewish Welfare Worker.

Kraus was born in Blowitz, Bohemia, February 26, 1850, and came to this country in 1865. He finally settled in 1871, in Chicago. After taking the bar examination he turned to politics where he served his city and county with a fine integrity. As a member and president of the Board of Education, as prosecuting attorney, as commissioner of the civil service, as newspaper editor, he served faithfully to the honor of himself and of local Jewry. His fame rests, however, not on his local political activities, but on his devotion to the cause of Jewry. From 1905 until 1925 he was the president of the I. O. B. B. He was a member of the committee that conferred in 1905 with Count Witte seeking amelioration of the position of the Jews in Russia. It was under his aegis that the B'nai B'rith became an international organ for the defense of the Jew both here and abroad. Kraus was an earnest Jew with a fine love for his people and his faith. He died, rich in honor, in Chicago, October 22, 1928, at the age of 78.

KAMAIKY, LEON. Newspaper Publisher and Communal Worker.

Kamaiky, a native of Lithuania, of a rabbinical family, studied, for a while, at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Later he became interested in Yiddish journalism and ultimately acquired the Jewish Daily News. Only recently the News was merged with the Jewish Morning Journal. Kamaiky, through the Tageblatt, the oldest Yid-

dish daily in the United States, which he edited since 1889, exerted a tremendous influence on Russian-American Jewry in its important generation of transition. There can be no question that his influence was consistently for the best. Our Yiddish speaking fathers were nourished by his paper. Shortly after the outbreak of the World War, September, 1914, he organized the Central Relief Committee, the orthodox factor of the Joint Distribution which collected over $14,-000,000 from Orthodox Jews for the relief work abroad. He was an officer of the Hebrew Immigration Aid Society and in 1920 went to Europe to arrange for transportation facilities for the stranded refugees from Eastern Europe. He was a director of the Isaac Elchanan Yeshibah in New York and was also active in the Misrachi movement. He was a member both of the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress. The passing of Kamaiky and the impending merger of his Central Relief Committee into a unified American relief organization is symbolical of the passing of the first generation of Russian Jews and the gradual emergence of a unified homogenous American Jewry. He died October 28, 1928, at Watkins Glen, New York.

Reinach, Theodore, Dr. Archaeologist, Historian, Lawyer, Classicist.

Theodore Reinach, who died in Paris, October 29, 1928, at the age of 67, is the second of the three famous Reinach brothers to pass away. Now only Solomon Reinach is left. When only 24 years old he wrote "The History of the Israelites since their Dispersion," not an original work but finely conceived and very popular. He early developed an interest in archaeology and numismatics and became a recognized authority. He was the author of the articles on Jews and Judaism for the important encyclopedias in France and the very important article "Diaspora" in the Jewish Encyclopedia is his. The "Textes relatifs au Judisme" which contains most of the important Greek and Latin literary references to the Jews of antiquity was one of his most useful works. He was the editor of the splendid and accurate French translation of Josephus which is not yet completed. Reinach was at one time president of the Société des Études Juives which publishes the Revue. He took an active interest in Liberal Judaism in France and gave of his time, eloquence and scholarship

to further its ideals. He spoke often in the Liberal Synagog in Paris to an admiring audience. Universal peace was dear to him. His last address was at Geneva at the preparatory meeting of the Universal Congress of Religious Forces working for peace. Seymour de Ricci, the classicist, who wrote the necrology in the Revue des Études Juives, lists 151 articles, books, essays and addresses that he wrote on Jewish subjects from 1880 to 1928.

GOLDBERGER, JOSEPH, Dr. Public Health Service Worker and Scientist.

Goldberger was born in Austria-Hungary on July 16, 1874, and was brought to America when he was but 7 years of age. He was educated in New York and New Jersey schools and became a physician in 1895. He early left private practice to enter the United States Public Health Service where he worked from 1899 to his death. In 1914 he was put in charge of the campaign to fight pellagra, the great scourge of the South. He discovered the cause and cure of this dread sickness and thus became one of the great benefactors of his generation. He is considered to have made some of the most important contributions to medicine in this country in the last 25 years, not only in the cure of pellagra, but also in the study of yellow, dengue and typhoid fever. He persisted in his attempts to fight disease despite the fact that time and time again he contracted illnesses from the plagues he was trying to eradicate. His death was due in large measure to infections received in his scientific work. He was in the truest sense a martyr. He passed away at the Naval Hospital in Washington, D. C., January 17, 1929.

LOEB, SOPHIE IRENE. Newspaper writer and sociologist.

Mrs Sophie Irene Loeb (née Simon) was born in Russia in 1876. She was brought to this country as a child of 6 during the first great wave of Russian migration and was educated in the American schools. As early as 1910 she joined the staff of the New York "Evening World" and through the medium of that newspaper espoused the cause of the widow and the orphan. She was one of the pioneers in the movement for mothers' pensions and was responsible for the penny lunches in the public schools and the enactment of the New York Motion Picture Law making buildings sanitary and fireproof.

Mrs. Loeb was the guiding force behind the New York Public Service Commission and was the first woman called as a mediator to settle a strike. It was largely through her efforts that the New York legislature was induced to open the schools for community forums and civic centers. She fought successfully for better tenements and more playgrounds. As President of the Child Welfare Committee of America she started a movement to do away with orphan asylums throughout the country. Practically all the states in the Union have adopted her ideas into their child welfare legislation. A few years ago she went to Geneva, to the social service section of the League of Nations, where she helped frame an international code for the care of dependent children. She was probably responsible for more reform measures than any other one woman in the United States. She was a notable reformer, of fine ability and universal influence. Only recently she developed an interest in Palestine and wrote two books of impressions of her trip there. She died January 18, 1929.

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A SURVEY OF CONTEMPORANEOUS LITERATURE

HEBREW GENERAL LITERATURE

Jewish literature during the past year has been rather meagre. In the field of Hebrew language, attention should be called to Bursztyn, *Vollstaendige Grammatik der alt—und neu—Hebraeische Sprache,* Gerold & Co., Vienna, 1929, which is an original and brilliant contribution in the field of Hebrew linguistics, which no student can do without. This compendium possesses the advantage that it covers all phases of Hebrew, biblical, talmudic and modern. The student must deplore the lack of an index.

BIBLE

In the domain of biblical scholarship, two works are to be noted; one by a member of our Conference, Jacob Singer, *Taboo in the Hebrew Scriptures,* Open Court, (Chicago, 1928) and the other, Heidel, *The Day of Jahwe,* Century Co. (New York, 1929). The former is a careful study of food, sex and other taboos in the light of comparative religions and is the first volume of any importance in this special branch. The latter is a study of the Jewish holydays and calendar with special reference to what is implied in the title, and is a work of first magnitude. No student can afford to miss it. M. Radin, *The Life of the People in Biblical Times,* J. P. S. (Philadelphia, 1929), is a hand book of knowledge giving the reader a background for Scripture. In the allied Science of Biblical Archaeology, we mention T. S. Wooley, *The Sumerians,* Oxford University Press, (New York, 1929), as the best compact introduction to this ancient people and civilization that influenced so greatly the whole ancient near east and left their impress upon Hebrew culture.

RABBINICA

R. T. Herford, *Judaism in the New Testament Period,* Lindsey Press, (London, 1929), is perhaps the outstanding work of the year of its kind. The author's knowledge of and sympathy for Judaism are as usual manifest and his appreciation of the difference between the two religions, mother and daughter, and his evaluation of rabbinic Judaism and of its role as preserver of the Jewish people, is keen and understanding. K. Kohler's *Origins of Synagog and Church,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1929), is a posthumous work of our late lamented teacher and gives a detailed though sometimes very incom-

plete discussion (due to the author's inability to finish chapters) of the beginnings of the two great institutions and their mutual relationship. There are excellent paragraphs on the Liturgy, on Apostolic Literature and the kindred subjects. The author emphasizes the influence of the Persian religion upon the development of the liturgy and that of the Essene movement upon Christianity. The magnificent biographical sketches by another member, Dr. Enelow, constitutes a worthy preface to the book.

F. Gavin, *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments,* S. P. C. K. Macmillan Co. (New York, 1929), is in a way a supplement to the preceding two works. With a wealth of rabbinic reference, the author shows the dependence of Christian Sacraments upon Jewish rite and thought and proves the indebtedness of Christianity to Judaism.

Of interest, too, is R. Marcus, *Law in the Apocrypha,* Columbia U. Press, (New York, 1927). wherein the author shows that the prominent ideas of rabbinic Judaism develop naturally in the Greek Jewish period. The author shows how the oral law grew, even in the Apocrypha, though not substantially different from the Mishnaic outlook. In other words, what Prof. Moore calls normative Judaism is to be found here also.

JUDAICA

L. M. Epstein, *The Jewish Marriage Contract,* J. T. S. (New York, 1927), is a Study of the Status of the Woman in Jewish Law. There are chapters on the *Kethubah,* its origin, development and function and all the legal questions involved are adequately discussed. This work marks a fine contribution to a subject in which little enough has been done.

J. Klatzkin, *Thesaurus Philosophicus,* Vol. I and II [Aleph to Mem], Eschkol, (Berlin, 1928), comes at an appropriate time for the student of Hebrew as well as of philosophy. It is the first attempt of its kind made and gives a complete list and analysis of words, definitions and phrases which were originated during the creative Jewish-Arabic period. The publication of this important lexicon has been made possible through the generosity of the Kohut Foundation, thus associating the famous author of the *Aruch Completum* with another great work.

H. Kauvar, *Pirke Avoth Comments,* Greenstone (Philadelphia, 1929), is a commentary of an homiletic and inspirational character to the first chapter of the Ethics. Rabbi and layman alike will read it with pleasure. I. H. Levinthal, *Steering or Drifting—Which?* Funk and Wagnall, (New York, 1928), is a collection of sermons delivered by a conservative rabbi. The discourses possess a dis-

tinctive Jewish note and are replete with quotations from Jewish lore. The point of view is hardly our own, though we must be grateful for this single addition to sermonic literature. Of an even more rigid standpoint is L. Jung, *Jewish Library,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1928), a collection of essays of various kinds and of differing worth. Among the contributors are the editor, who writes on the Essentials of Judaism, Prof. Nathan Isaac who submits the best article in the book on Study as a Mode of Worship, and Haham Gaster, who essays *The Spread of Judaism Through the Ages.*

A work of importance emanating from the scholarly pen of the president of the Conference is H. G. Enelow's *Menorath Hamaor,* by Israel Alnaqua, Bloch (New York, 1929), in which the author shows that Isaac Aboab is deeply indebted to Alnaqua far more than is usually supposed for the Shaar Zedakah or first chapter of his work. Dr. Enelow collated texts with special reference to the Bodleian manuscript heretofore unpublished. An excellent introduction precedes the main textual portion of the book. It is hoped that the author will continue his studies and then soon the remaining chapters of this famous devotional work, will follow. The Conference congratulates its president on this contribution to Jewish lore and study.

Ozar Wikuhim, A collection of Polemics and Disputations with Introduction, Annotations and Index, J. D. Eisenstein, (New York, 1928). The indefatigable Hebrew encyclopedist, J. D. Eisenstein, has presented us with another invaluable work. Without noise and without any campaigns for public support, he has succeeded in issuing more worthwhile publications than any other scholar whether in the new or the old world. The present volume is the 20th of his encyclopedic works. In it he presents a rich collection of rabbinic polemics and disputations that had hitherto been accessible only to very few scholars. For the first time the Hebrew reader will have before him the Kimchis, Yehiel of Paris, Nachmanides, Profiat Duran's Kilimath Hagoyim, the 25th chapter of the third part of Albo's Ikkarim, deleted by the censors from all but the *editio princeps,* Crescas' Bittul Ikkere Dat Hanozrim, etc. In addition to these and numerous other important texts, the editor included a revised Hebrew translation of the Contra Apionem and Mendelssohn's letter to Lavater. Though much of the material presents viewpoints of religion that belong to a bygone age, the collection will serve a most useful service of affording us the material for a close view of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity during the Middle Ages and which continue in some places in our own day. Because of the great importance of this work, it is all the more regrettable that the editing was done in a manner that leaves much to be desired. The editor in his introduc-

tion rests so confidently on the shaky foundations of Drews, Smith and Robertson. His comments on the attitude of the leading Reformers toward Jesus are too superficial to deserve any attention. He further exhibits poor judgment in including a chapter on Anti-Semitism and on the Ford case. These and other defects nothwithstanding M. Eisenstein's Ozar Wikuhim fills an important gap in our literature and should find its way into the libraries of earnest Jewish students.

Studies in Ancient and Modern Judaism, Isidor Kalisch, edited and compiled with a memoir by Samuel Kalisch, Justice of the Supreme Court of N. J., 1928. This volume is published primarily as a token of filial piety. However in honoring his father Judge Kalisch rendered a service also to Jewish history and to Jewish religious thought. Most of the essays that he included in this volume were tucked away in old periodicals such as the Jewish Chronicle, the Deborah, the early Israelite and the Occident. Others were never published before. Excepting the Maimonides treatise on the Unity of God—the *Maamar Hayihud*—these essays have but negligible scientific value. Nevertheless the volume is a most welcome addition to the small collection of biographies and selected works of the pioneers of the Reform movement in America. Together with the comprehensive memoir, the essays give us an insight into the life and aspirations of an early reformer who, despite his erudition, was overshadowed by the greater luminaries of his day. Dr. Joshua Bloch's well written introduction presents a judicious appraisal of the Bible exegete and pioneer reformer.

Die Sittliche Welt des Judentums, Prof. Dr. J. Ziegler, Rabbiner in Karlsbad. Published by the I. O. O. B. of Czecho-Slovakia, 1928.

The first volume of the work *The Moral World of Judaism* appeared in 1924 and treated the ethical material of the Bible. The second volume is based on Talmudic and Midrashic literature. It presents the vast array of rabbinic teachings under the following six leads; the Idea of God, Man and his God, The Mission of Israel, Israel's Way to God, Man's Relation to Man and the Reward of Piety and Punishment of Sin. The author's viewpoint is that of absolute idealism. On the basis of the conception of God as absolute belief and harmony, he constructs the ethical edifice of Judaism. He introduces each section with a lucid and penetrating analysis and proceeds to illustrate his views with copious rabbinic sayings. The volume should prove helpful to all who seek to understand the message of Judaism for the present age. We look forward with pleasure to Prof. Ziegler's completion of his work in the ethical ideals of the mediaeval Jewish thinkers.

JEWISH MUSIC

An epoch making work in English and one which deserves more space than we can give it is A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music,* Holt & Co. (New York, 1929). This book gives a history of our music, historically traced and scientifically studied. After a discussion of the elements, the various types of Jewish music are fully considered. A hundred pages of illustrative material enrich this volume. We recommend it to all as an indispensable guide.

GENERAL JEWISH

Of more general Jewish interest are the following six works, the first three of them with a definite Zionistic tinge. A. S. Waldstein, *Modern Palestine,* Bloch (New York, 1927), is a sober picture of the Jewish settlement in the homeland, by one who has lived there. There is no attempt at minimizing difficulties. H. Kallen, *Frontiers of Hope,* Liveright, (New York, 1929), gives the impressions that the Jewries of eastern Europe and the rebuilding of the ancient homeland make upon an intelligent yet sympathetic observer. The book contains much material and shrewd comment. L. Lewisohn's *Midchannel,* Harper, (New York, 1929), gives the testament of one who has found himself in Jewry after bitter experiences elsewhere. His exposition of Judaism at the end of the volume, called the Sermon of the Plain, is a fine bit of apology. The last three include S. Solis—Cohen, *When Love Passed By and other verses,* Rosenbach Co. (New York, 1929), a collection of verse, including some beautiful translations of mediaeval Hebrew poetry. A. Palliere's *Unknown Sanctuary,* Bloch (New York, 1928), has already been mentioned when the French original was reported on. L. Wirth, *The Ghetto,* University of Chicago Press (Chicago, 1928), is a workman-like study of the ghetto and its population in the city of Chicago, a pioneering work that suffers from this defect.

Attention is called to the appearance of a new magazine, Jewish Education, published quarterly by the National Council for Jewish Education. Thus far two numbers have appeared. This publication fills a long needed want and being the only journal in English devoted to the subject deserves our hearty support. The Hebrew Union College Annual continues its high standard. The Jews' College of London is likewise engaged in the publication of a number of very interesting items.

An important addition to Spinozana, both because of the new material it contains as well as elucidation of his text by the author, one of the most careful and well informed of Spinoza's scholars, is A. Wolf, *The Correspondence of Spinoza,* The Dial Press (New York, 1928). No student of the Amsterdam thinker can do without this

excellent contribution to the literature of the great monist. We look forward to the next volume which the author promises. B. Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children,* Holt (New York, 1929), is a study of the origins of racial and religious prejudices. The author finds these not congenital or even native but the result of training at home and in society. His remedy is a better teaching of geography and history, so that all people may be properly appreciated. The book contains much Jewish material, and is of great value to educators and others interested in democracy and the good-will movement.

RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Religion continues to agitate our Christian brothers very seriously. They write about it from every conceivable angle, science, philosophy, psychology, history and ethics. They are exceedingly anxious to orientate themselves in the modern world, sensitive to the many currents of thought flowing through it, and to think through all their problems in the light of the new knowledge. On the whole they are eager to save religion, even if they have to deny or to limit or to redefine deity. The keenest minds are not ashamed to theologize, and as a result, we have a rich and varied literature; take for example, two strikingly contrasted volumes, each splendid in its own way, E. S. Ames, *Religion,* Holt (New York, 1929) and J. Baillie, *Interpretation of Religion,* Scribners (New York, 1928). The former is a study by a radical empiricist to whom God is reality in its widest significance. The book discusses all the problems from this point of view and is characterized by a deep reverence and a profound awareness of the questions involved. The latter is a philosophical study from the Kantian point of view, encyclopedic almost in its nature and presents a theory of religion and a theology based on a carefully scrutinized metaphysic. This attempt of the Professor of Systematic Theology in Emmanuel College, Toronto, is a noble bit of work. Another great and indispensable work in systematic theology, the first part of which has appeared, is F. R. Tennant, *Philosophical Theology,* Vol. I, The Soul and its Faculties. In it the author lays the psychological bases for a scientific theology, by discussing the elementary questions of self and consciousness, scrutinizing the theories of knowledge and of value, limiting scientific knowledge and describing experience. The book is an invaluable compendium.

F. J. Sheen, *Religion Without God,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1928), is a Catholic answer to the question whether religion can exist without a deity. The answer is no and is based upon the scholastic metaphysic of the church. In its destructive criticism of the contemporary philosophy of religion and its pointing out of its fallacies and weak points, the book does splendid service, but its constructive pro-

gram is orthodox and uncritical. Quite the contrary tenor is evident in Sellers, *Religion Coming of Age,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1928), wherein the author modernizes religion to the extent of doing without God. The best of the book is the temper of the author. R. Jones, *The New Quest,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1928), has written in his usual mystical strain, about modern religion's problems. On the whole it is of doubtful value. G. A. Coe, *The Motives of Men,* Scribners (New York, 1929), is a study of the motives that drive human beings and establishes a thesis of great value to the religionist in the modern world. Man, the author contends, is a "free" member of a realm of spirits and the life he lives is worship, a thoughtful and stimulating bit of writing.

R. M. Freienfels, *Mysteries of the Soul,* Knopf (New York, 1929), is an original study of the soul from the metaphysical and psychological standpoints. The last portion of the work deals with the religion of the future, which the author contends will be more spiritual than it ever has been—the control of body by mind, the conquest of self. Religion will absorb all contemporary culture and use it for its own ends. Man will become truly a creative spirit. B. I. Bell, *Beyond Agnosticism,* Harper (New York, 1929), is a spiritual biography which tells how the author has found a satisfying faith in the world today. Beyond logic and science lies a domain in which man can exercise his faculties and find happiness and satisfaction—the real aim and purpose of existence.

The psychology of religion offers a few works for our consideration. A. R. Uren, *Recent Religious Psychology,* Holt (New York, 1929), gives an excellent resume of the work done in this field by Starbuck, James, Leuba and others. The author's own conclusions are that psychology is incapable of saying anything about the nature of spiritual facts, that the religious consciousness defies the psychology of religion. S. Freud, *The Future of an Illusion,* Liveright (New York, 1928), would reduce religion to an illusion. Freud may be the greatest living psycho-analyst but he misunderstands totally what religion is. He gives his own definition and then proceeds to knock down the straw man of his own making. One would like to psycho-analyze the notions that led to this attack by the Viennese psychiatrist. E. T. Clark, *The Psychology of Religious Awakening,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1929), is an applied study by means of the statistical and case methods of the psychology of religion of larger groups of persons. The questions investigated are the various types of religious experience and the author has endeavored to determine what factors are responsible for changes that occur due to religious awakening. The book is a noteworthy attempt and contains many valuable charts and is chiefly concerned with the Protestant sects.

An interesting volume is W. C. Emhardt, *Religion in Soviet Russia,* Moorehouse (Milwaukee, 1929), which gives the story of the anti-religious campaign of the Bolshevik government in its fight against religion. One would wish that a similar study of what has happened to Jew and Judaism would be made.

In the field of primitive religion M. R. Coolidge, *The Rain Makers,* Houghton Mifflin (Boston, 1929), is a presentation of the culture and civilization of the Pueblo Indians, and forms a valuable handbook. W. J. Perry, *Gods and Men,* Morrow (New York, 1929), studies the origin of gods and immortality in this little work. He maintains his famous theory that the gods are originally a strong race that spread over the world, built the megalithic sun monuments found everywhere, and that with them the idea of immortality arose.

ETHICS

While many have tried to maintain the religious point of view in the modern world, an equal number has attempted to replace religion by Ethics and, feeling that authorizations accepted in the past were no longer valid, tried to find a new sanction for morality in the modern life. Perhaps the most important of the attempts is Lippmann, *Preface to Morals,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1929). One is almost irritated at a Jew's writing this book, and quoting from every literature, including the mediaeval churchmen, except his own. The core of this book is the present day need for making life this-worldly, for enriching human existence on earth. This has always been the aim of Jewish ethic as Lewisohn in the afore-mentioned book recognizes. Nevertheless Mr. Lippmann's volume is brave and brilliant. J. W. Krutch, *The Modern Temper,* Harcourt, Brace and Co. (New York, 1929), voices a gospel of despair. Life in general cares nothing for human beings, with their spiritual aspirations. A resigned pessimism marks this equally brilliant essay, of greater philosophical depth than the former, and of a wider sweep. The author can find no basis for life's values. D. Drake, *The New Morality,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1928), tries to create an ethic based on results rather than on any preconceived notions, scientific or other. The authority of the past wherein the sanction of morality lay, must give to an experimental attitude which shall judge human conduct by no other standard except its effect on general well being and happiness. A discussion of contemporary ideals fills a large portion of the volume.

C. E. Ayres, *Holier Than Thou,* Bobbs-Merrill (Indianapolis, 1929), is a witty, well written volume by the author of *Science, The False Messiah,* to prove that morals are *mores*—customs and conventions. There is properly speaking no higher sanction outside or inside but all conduct is controlled by public opinion and the chief

motive is the individual's desire to conform to the general standard. Morality is a lockstep.

E. Rignano, *The Aim of Human Existence,* Open Court (Chicago, 1929), makes morality a harmony. In this symphony of all elements of existence, is found the end of life as well as the sanction for codes that contribute to this aim of harmony. Of a religious nature is B. H. Streeter, *Moral Adventure,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1929), a reprint of a portion of the author's *Reality.* The author tries to combine the modern empiric view of Ethics with what he maintains is the teaching of Christianity. The present age must have a morality based on principles and value intelligently understood which the author finds in the teachings of Christ. The point of view is modern for a churchman yet the conclusions are safely orthodox.

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Possibly the outstanding single book of the whole year is A. S. Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1928), the author's Gifford Lectures for 1927. The writer gives us a picture of the universe as conceived by modern physics, with its four or more dimensional space, and tells us the limits of the scientific method. In vast reaches of experience there can be no measurements, hence science is helpless to explain. With characteristic caution the author says little of religion because he feels Physics knows naught about the field, but he maintains there is nothing contradictory between the two worlds. All who are interested in getting the view of modern science should read this stimulating work. Of minor importance are two works by Bertrand Russell, *Our Knowledge of the External World* and *Skeptical Essays,* Norton & Co. (New York, 1929 and 1928 respectively). The latter is a series of short studies on popular subjects, held in a unity simply by the author's rigidly skeptical point of view and contains some interesting and courageous thinking. There likewise are found some superficial pieces. The former is a reprint with some corrections of the earlier volume of the same name and is still the best introduction to the scientific method in philosophy and to the role that the newer mathematical discoveries must find therein.

L. Evans, *New Realism and the Old Reality,* Princeton University (Princeton, 1928), is a presentation of the realist position in philosophy. After a trenchant criticism of the traditional thought and a discussion of the protests against it on the part of the new realism, the author discusses the leading trends of his system and applies these criticisms to religion. Some of the conclusions are that the concept of change plays a most important role, that thinking cannot be divorced from Science, that the new theory is a preventer of skepticism,

that value is ever present and represents a cosmic motive, and that the finite expresses itself in the infinite.

Two books on Greek thought, R. Scoon, *Greek Philosophy Before Plato,* Princeton University Press (Princeton, 1928) and J. Burnet, *Platonism,* University of California (Berkeley, 1928), afford a splendid introduction to the beginnings of philosophy and its culmination in one of the greatest exponents. Both are well done, containing much that is new and original and offers invaluable help to the student of this field.

In the domain of psychology we come to a popular exposition by G. T. W. Patrick, *What Is Mind?,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1929), wherein the author discusses the present state of knowledge of "mind." The writer draws much from the behaviorist school, attempts to define mind in purely material terms, the result of a long course of evolution, from which mind emerged. Higher powers are denied. A criticism of some of the methods, central assumptions and findings of the behavioristic school is found in the new approach to the Science of mind by W. Kohler, *Gestalt Psychology,* Liveright (New York, 1929), a revolutionary contribution as it has been called. The mind is taken as a whole and studied and not broken up into physical processes. The book is full of important data and startling conclusions and represents a contribution that no one who is the least interested is psychology can afford to miss.

L. Levy-Bruhl, *The "Soul" of the Primitive,* Macmillan Co. (New York, 1928), represents additional work along the lines outlined by the author in *Primitive Mentality.* He shows after his analysis of primitive mind, how the principles discovered give rise to early beliefs and rules of conduct. The book is a brief history of the idea of the soul and of its social implications. The religious doctrines of death and resurrection are studied. A profound work that suffers from the onesidedness of French sociological theory.

A book that is anti-psychological is J. H. Denison, *Emotion as the Basis of Civilization,* Scribners (New York, 1928), in which the author tries to prove the thesis contained in the title. Various cultures are studied and emotional basis ascribed to them. The work is vitiated by racial prejudices and belief in race superiorities.

GENERAL

During the year there appeared a number of outstanding works, dealing with present-day civilization, with which the cultured man must have some familiarity. F. Boas, *Anthropology in Modern Life,* Norton (New York, 1928), is a careful statement of the leading authority in the subject, of what anthropology has done and actually does. Many current misconceptions concerning race are corrected.

C. Beard, *Whither Mankind,* Longmans (New York, 1928), is a series of sixteen essays by experts giving the background of our civilization. The book is written not only to enable the reader to understand this setting, but to give him intelligent direction of the future. Science and the machine are the two new and powerful elements that have come into the world and to use these properly for the general welfare becomes our problem. There are chapters on Art, Labor, Play, Religion, etc., a very fine volume.

H. Randall, *Our Changing Civilization,* Stokes (New York, 1929), is a companion volume to the foregoing, written by a single man. Both these works are antidotes to the gloom of Spengler with his prophecy of the doom of western cultures. The present book makes a plea for a social intelligence to function after the west has created social knowledge. The book is a fine analysis of how the two factors, Science and the Machine, are reconstructing modern life.

H. E. Barnes, *Living in the Twentieth Century,* Bobbs-Merrill (Indianapolis, 1928), is a valuable supplement to the two preceding volumes. A. H. Verrill, *Old Civilizations of the New World,* Bobbs-Merrill (Indianapolis, 1929), is the story of man and his achievements in America, presented by an expert in his field. The various cultures and civilizations of the two western continents are ably discussed, this forming a splendid introduction to the story of mankind in this portion of the world. With so much attention given to the orient, it is high time that the occident receive its appreciation. The author has done his task fascinatingly and well.

E

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN PALESTINE

NELSON GLUECK

Archaeological finds in Palestine and surrounding countries have added enormously to our knowledge of the Hebrews, whose history has been and still is most incomplete. The chief source of information, the Bible, is deficient in complete objective historical fact. It is not a book of history, as we understand that term today. It is essentially a theological document presenting a specific religious point of view. The facts that serve this purpose have been retained, often in barest outline, or reinterpreted. Others have been omitted entirely. A king is great or small, good or bad, depending upon whether he conforms to that which was proper in the eyes of the Lord or not. Thus an Asa, a Josiah are praised and acclaimed;[1] yet the surrounding civilized world seems to have known nothing of them. An Omri however is dismissed with a few sentences because he did not serve Yahwe properly.[2] His fame, however, had spread so far and was so enduring that in Assyrian annals, written long after his death, the kingdom of Israel is known as the land of Omri;[3] and the Moabite stone informs us of his trans-Jordanian conquests.[4] The religious, national and personal ideals proclaimed and furthered by prophet and priest are the primary concern of the biblical narrative. Movements and individuals and folk-ways flash across the screen, and are judged in accordance with preconceived notions. Our knowledge of the daily life of the people, the environment they moved in, the cultural influences which directed them, the historical forces they were subjected to,—must to a large degree be gleaned and inferred from the biblical records, and are too often lost in their bias and silence. Archaeology becomes the handmaid of history. The ground shall be made to reveal its secrets. Every *tell*—an artificial hill formed by one city being

[1] I K. 15.
[2] I K. 16: 23-29; I K. 20:34.
[3] Barton, G. A.: *Archaeology and the Bible.* Philadelphia, 1925, p. 424.
[4] Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 422f.

built upon the ruins of its predecessor—must be excavated, for the sake of the cultural records stored in it.

Much light has been and is being cast upon life in Palestine from discoveries made outside of it. At present information about the Hittites is being gained in excavations in Syria, and then perhaps more light will be thrown upon their presence in Palestine. A number of Syro-Hittite relics have been found in Beisan. Very little, however, is known of this people, whose presence in Palestine is attested to in the Bible.[5] The full significance of the statement in Ezek. 16:3, 45, "the Amorite was thy father and thy mother was a Hittite" is still to be realized. The excavations conducted by Mr. Wooley at Ur are bringing to light conditions of the flood-story background and revealing the environment, which may once have been familiar to Abraham.[6] Evidence has been found for "an inundation or flood on such a scale as to allow the conjecture that the substantial basis of the story of the deluge has been discovered."[7] The language of the Amarna letters[8] indicate the power of Babylonian cultural influence upon Palestine in the 14th century B. C. E., despite the political dependency of Palestine upon Egypt, but this influence may not be overemphasized.[9] It is significant that the archaeological finds in Palestine, which are specifically Babylonian, are precious few. A different picture may present itself in Syria, where investigation is really just getting under way. It must be remembered that it was first in the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. E., when Palestine had already achieved political and cultural independence, that Assyria began to exert anew a strong influence on the coast countries. At that time, however, the history of Israel and Judah was approaching its end.[10]

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[5] *N. Y. Times*, Feb. 3, 1929; *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1929, p. 82. Hittites are mentioned in Genesis as living near Hebron, Gen. 15, 20. The name of Uriah the Hittite is familiar to all.

[6] Wooley, C. L.: New Light on Abraham's Times: *The Menorah Journal*, March, 1929; *The Sumerians*, Oxford, 1928, p. 121f.

[7] PEF, 1929, p. 67.

[8] Discovered 1887-8. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[9] The discovery of the Hammurapi Code has revealed "a similarity of antecedents and of general intellectual outlook" between Babylonian and Pentateuchal legislation, but no direct borrowing, as revealed best by the striking differences. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[10] Thomsen, P.: *Die neueren Forschungen in Palastina-Syrien*, Tübingen, 1925, p. 22f.

The strongest of all influences seems to have been the Egyptian, as a discussion of the excavations will reveal. It left a very definite mark on the religious life and literature and on the very language of the inhabitants of Palestine.[11]

Scientific investigation in Palestine, centered at first in the Palestine Exploration Fund, organized in 1865, devoted itself to topographical and geographical research, to a study of the inhabitants and their culture and of the prevalent plant and animal life. No actual excavations were undertaken. A change took place in 1890, when Flinders-Petrie conducted a systematic excavation at tell el-hesi, Lachish(?). In quick sequence then a number of important excavations were undertaken.[12] Renewed and intensified activity set in with the end of the war. To some of these later achievements in broad outline is this paper devoted, treating the excavations according to the natural physical divisions of the country. In this order,—the excavations and investigations in the Jordan Valley, the Coastal Plain and Shephelah, the Negeb, and the hill country of Judea and Ephraim.

The entire range of history is now the concern of scientific Palestinian archaeology, and attention is being directed even to its prehistoric times. The discovery of the Galilee skull of the Neanderthal type sets the beginning of palaeolithic culture in Palestine probably before 10,000 B. C. E.[13] Thus do the mists, which shroud the history of earliest man in Palestine begin to be blown away.[14] The earliest

[11]Yahuda, A. S.: *Die Sprache des Pentateuch in ihren Beziehungen zum Aegyptischen,* Berlin, 1929. The dependence of a large part of the Book of Proverbs 22:7-24:22 and 24:23-34 upon the Egyptian Proverbs of Amen-em-ope, or perhaps better the intimate relationship between them has been pointed out. (Gressmann, H.: *Israel's Spruchweisheit,* Berlin, 1925, p. 35. Thomsen, *op. cit.,* p. 24. Smith, J. M. P.: Archaeology and the Old Testament: *Journal of Religion,* VI., p. 291.) The influence of the Babylonian-Assyrian Wisdom of Ahikar can also be traced in the Book of Proverbs. This book becomes then another example of how Babylonian and Egyptian cultural influences met and joined on Palestinian soil. (Gressman, *op. cit.,* p. 47.) The ancient oriental world was in many respects a "unit in matters of thought, art and commerce. There were no custom barriers upon ideas." (Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 291, 2.)

[12]In tel es-safi (Gath) and tell sakaria (Asaka) in the Shephelah; in Gezer, Beth-shemesh, Jerusalem, Shechem, Samaria, Megiddo, Taanach, Bethshan, Jericho.

[13]Barton, G. A.: The Historical Results of Recent Exploration in Palestine and Iraq: *American Historical Review,* Vol. 33, p. 762.

[14]Dr. Albright believes that "Palestine is to become the most important field of proto-archaeological research in the world during the

settled life in Palestine centered itself in the Jordan Valley and in the Plain of Esdraelon. Jericho, Bethshan, and Megiddo were founded before 3000 B. C. E., as indicated by various pottery and implement finds, and the same antiquity may safely be claimed for a high proportion of the unexcavated Jordan Valley mounds, as has been conclusively shown by Dr. Albright,[15] till this year the brilliant head of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, of which the Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Institute of Religion are among the supporting members. The Jordan Valley was first selected, as he has pointed out, because of its abundant water and cultivable plains. Through irrigation and drainage of swamps, a large number of towns could be supported during the Bronze Age.[16] It was only after the hill country had been cleared and provided with

next few years, barring totally unexpected discoveries elsewhere." (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, South Hadley, Mass., 33, p. 9.) The discovery of bones belonging to Homo Sapiens would seem to show, we are told, "that the modern man appeared at an earlier age in Western Asia than in Western Europe." Other excavations in a grotto near the traditional site of the Cave of Adullam demonstrate "the relative priority of cave-dwelling in Palestine, as compared to Western Europe." A figurine of a bull carved out of bone, found in a pre-historic cave near Athlit, "having a certain vague resemblance to pre-dynastic Egyptian work, but belonging to a distinct culture, furnishes, for the first time, a clear archaeological document from the beginning of agricultural and cattle-raising life in Palestine." (l. c.)

[15] *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI, p. 66 f.. Jericho was already destroyed about 1500 B. C. E. and remained unoccupied till about 900 B. C. E., as indicated by the lack of pottery remains for this period. There is no reference whatsoever to Jericho in the Amarna Tablets which mention practically all the other important towns of Palestine. (Cf. *op. cit.* p. 67.) Jerusalem, because of its strategic position, was occupied early. Peopled from the earliest Stone-Age by cave-dwellers, it was already a walled city in the Amarna period. Cf. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 203; p. 406, letter 5. *AASOR*, p. 67. Tell en-nasbeh, Mizpah(?) was also occupied early. Tombs dating 3000-2500 B. C. E., containing "pre-semitic" pottery have been found there. Cf. *BASOR*, 26 p. 6. The Shephelah and Coastal Plain show no intensive occupation before 2500 B. C. E. Cf. *AASOR*, VI, p. 68; Alt, A.: Stand und Aufgaben der Palästinaforschung: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 52:1, p. 12,18 f..

[16] Cf. Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 9, note 14.

Bronze Period 2500 B. C. E.-1200 B.C. E.	Early Canaanite	2500-2000
	Middle "	2000-1600
	Late "	1600-1200
Iron Period 1200 B. C. E.-300 B. C. E.	Early Palestinian (Philistine; early Jewish)	1200-600
	Middle Palestinian	600-300
	Late "	300-50 B. C. E.

cisterns for the storage of water, that villages could be built on the highlands, and the Jordan Valley with its debilitating heat could be abandoned and used purely for grazing purposes or farm land—the crops then being stored in the highland villages.[17]

That the Bronze Age culture of the Jordan Valley extended also into the Dead Sea Valley is attested to by the discovery of a Bronze Age pilgrimage place Bâb ed-Drâ', a few miles east of the Lisan, the peninsula extending into the Dead Sea. *Massebot* found there must have been dragged for miles to be placed where they now are. Thousands of hearths and foundations of enclosures strewn over the site are the remains of the *Sukkot,* where the pilgrims lived during the days of the feast. A fortress found there was presumably erected in order to protect the latter from sudden raids.[18] It was undoubtedly the sanctuary of the Cities of the Plain, which are now probably submerged under the waters of the Dead Sea,[19] and was a holy place like the later Israelitic Gilgal near Jericho, to which people came on annual pilgrimages. [20] Being linked together with Sodom and Gomorrah, as Dr. Albright maintains, "an exhaustive excavation of the acropolis would furnish us much data of value for the reconstruction of their culture, and doubtless for the clearer understanding of the depravity which tradition ascribed to them." The abandonment of this site must then be connected with the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, at the very beginning of Hebrew settlement in Canaan.[21]

Occupying a commanding position in northern Palestine at the eastern end of the Plain of Esdraelon, shortly before it merges with the Jordan Valley lies an ancient mound of imposing dimensions, known as tell el-Husn. It is the biblical Beth-shan; the entire site to this day being called Beisân. The mound represents the walled area of the Canaanite city, and the acropolis of the Scythian and Hellenistic city of Scythopolis, the successor of Beth-shan.[22] The bare hill of rock upon which it is built has from earliest time dominated the Jordan end of the great highway, which following the length of

[17] *AASOR* VI, p. 68; Alt, *l. c.*
[18] *BASOR* 14, p. 6f.
[19] *Op. Cit.*, p. 7; *AASOR* VI, p. 58.
[20] *BASOR* 14, p. 6f.
[21] *AASOR*, VI, p. 62; *BASOR*, 14, p. 7.
[22] Macalister, R. A. S.: *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, N. Y. C., 1925, p. 73; *BASOR*, 33, p. 3.

the Jezreel Valley connected the Mediterranean coast and thus Egypt with the Mesopotamian cultural sphere. It is like turning the pages of a thoroughly documented and fascinatingly interesting book of history to follow the progress of excavations being conducted at Beisân (since 1921 by the U. of P. Museum under the direction at first of Clarence Fisher and, since 1925, of Alan Rowe). Like the unfolding of a panorama does the story of the civilization of this corner of Palestine reveal itself as layer after layer of definitely documented historical periods are literally sliced off by the diggers. The excavations being carried on at this site are the most important yet made in Palestine.[23] Beneath more modern accumulations the excavators found the ruins of the crusaders. Beneath the crusaders' masonry lay the fallen fort, and mosque, and dwellings of the Arabs, who swept into the land the year Mohammed died, 632 C. E. The next level proved to be the Hellenistic city of Scythopolis,[24] and there was found part of the floor and some of the pillars of a church built about 400 C. E.; beneath it some mosaics and bronzes from a church erected a century before. Still lower were found the ruins of a Greco-Roman Temple sacred to Bacchus, with huge Corinthian pillars six feet thick. And further excavations have thus far revealed five more levels, the remains of Egyptian domination, the last level being reached, dating from the time of Thothmes III (1501-1447 B. C. E.) Thus far only about a third of the mound from its original top has been removed. Its original height at the south was 134 feet, and at the north 213 feet. The base of the last level reached, the ninth, is nearly 50 feet below the original top of the tell.[25] A period of great antiquity will be reached when the entire mound has been excavated down to bed-rock. The work completed, a good picture of the civilization of this particular corner from its very beginnings on will have been ob-

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[23] *BASOR*, 29, p. 7.

[24] "Bethshan, which presumably owes its name Scythopolis to the Scythian inroad, has as yet revealed no certain trace of the hordes." (*The Cambridge Ancient History*, N. Y. C., 1925, Vol. III, p. 397); Max Löhr: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1929 p. 351; *PEF*, 1927, p. 79.) I have been unable to find first-hand reports substantiating Scythian finds in Beth-shan, as claimed sometimes. *PEF*, 1928, p. 74; Fosdick, H. E.: *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, N. Y. C., 1927, p. 46 f; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Herodotus 1, 105; Josephus, *Antiquities*, XII, 8, 5.

[25] *PEF*, 1928, p. 74.

tained. Flint instruments have been found in trial shafts dug down to bed-rock, which carry the story back to the cave-dwellers. Occupied by Canaanites, Egyptians, Philistines, Israelites, Scythians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Crusaders, it is with much anticipation that we await the progress of further excavations to find out who the predecessors of them all were, and what their culture was like.

The deepest imprint upon Beisân has been left by the Egyptians, to whom it served for a number of centuries as a very important outpost, securing their domination of the highway to the east. The numerous and important evidences of Egyptian occupancy of the city,[26] as well as of many other places in Palestine, reveal that the Egyptians had a strong foothold there before, during, and after the reputed time of the Exodus. Canaan, then, was not a land where the Israelites could hope to escape from Egyptian control. In view of all the various archaelogical finds, the traditional story of the Exodus must be considerably revised.[27]

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[26]Commemorative stelae of Sethos I (1313-1292 B. C. E.) and Ramses II (1292-1225 B. C. E.) and a seated statue of Ramses III (1198-1167 B. C. E.) were found in a brick fortress of the time of Sethos I. This fortress was later occupied by the Philistines and finally burned as the charred bricks and melted metals of the ruins revealed, probably by David about 1000 B. C. E.. (Gressmann, H.: *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testamente*, Berlin, 1926, p. 94:2; 96:4; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 115; Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Fosdick, *op. cit.*, p. 47). The stele of Ramses II (1292-1225 B. C. E.) contained a reference to the town of "Ramses" which, according to Ex. 1:11, had been built by the Israelites. However no mention is made of them. (*PEF*, 1927, p. 73, 4; *AOTAT*, p. 96; Barton, *Historical Results*, etc., p. 783.)

[27]The Amarna Tablets mentioning the Habiru (*AOTAT*, p. 371) indicate that the Hebrews with whom they are commonly identified were present in Palestine in the 14th century B. C. E.. Hittite records reveal their presence in Syria. (*AASOR*, IV, 1924, p. 44; Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 27, 28; Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 159f.; Barton, *The Historical Results of Recent Exploration in Palestine and Iraq*, p. 779.) Designated in both sources as robbers, marauders, they can be traced back to southern Babylonia, where a deity bearing the name Habiru testifies to their presence. It is probable that the characterization of Abraham in Gen. 14 as the "Hebrew" was a customary appellation of a member of the Habiru-Hebrews. (Jirku, A.: *Die Wanderungen der Hebraer im 3. u. 2. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, p. 14f., p. 25.) Dr. Albright identifies the '-pi-ru of the first Beth-shan stele of Sethos I with the Habiru. (*ZAW*, 47:1, p. 12f.; Jirku, *op. cit.*, p. 25). Furthermore, the connection is sometimes made between the earliest Hebrews and the Hyksos, who invaded Egypt in the 17th cent. B. C. E. (Kittel, R.: *Great Men and Movements in Israel*, N. Y. C., 1929, p. 7, 17;

In the level of Ramses II two Canaanite Temples were found devoted to Resheph and the goddess Antit. A monument was found naming Antit Astarte "queen of heaven, mistress of all gods,"[28] ex-

Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Gotha, 1921. I, p. 93f.; Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 35.) The "Israel" stele of Mernephtah (1225-1215) reporting that Askelon, Gezer, and Yanoam had been destroyed "and Israel is wasted and has no seed" (*AOTAT*, p. 25, l. 27) indicates that Israel was already a settled community in Palestine when Mernephtah had this monument erected. The mosaic of this phase of history is most incomplete. So much, however, becomes certain, as has already been established by literary criticism of the Bible, that the Hebrew-Israelite settlement of Palestine was a long drawn out process, which lasted for a number of centuries.

In connection with the revision of the Exodus story may be mentioned the inscriptions found in 1917 and 1927 in mines on the Sinai peninsula, from the time of Thotmes III. They were written in characters, which upon decipherment were shown to occupy an intermediate stage between Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Hebrew or Phoenician alphabet. (*BASOR*, 27, p. 12; Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Smith *op. cit.*, p. 298; Barton, *The Historical Results of Recent Exploration in Palestine and Iraq*, p. 722, 3.) In the first flurry of excitement one decipherer thought he had found the name of Moses in connection with that of the famous queen Hatshepsut, and also the words Nile and Jahu. A revision of the translation by others soon showed that this reading was fallacious. (Völter, D.: *Die althebräischen Inschriften von Sinai und ihre historische Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1924, p. 18 f.; Grimme, H.: *Althebräische Inschriften von Sinai*, Darmstadt, 1923, p. 85f.; *BASOR*, 27, p. 13; Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 299.) Certain remains the fact that in the first half of the 15th century a people who may have been Semites were working in Egyptian mines on the Sinai peninsula. By some they are identified with the Hebrews, in which case additional questions arise—whether they were ever in Egypt, or participated in the Exodus (Thomsen, *l. c.*; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Völter, p. 43f.)

[28] *PEF*, 1927, p. 76. Of the two temples occupied by the Egyptians of the time of Thothmes III (1501-1447), the southern one was devoted to the local deity called "Mekal, the God of Bethshan," the northern one to his female counterpart. (*PEF*, 1928, p. 74f.) An Egyptian stele giving his name and picturing him in human form was found near one of the Canaanite massebot, upon which originally it was probably placed. It may therefore represent for the first time according to Mr. Rowe "the transition from the representation of a god in the form of a column to human form." (*PEF*, 1928, p. 79.) In the Mekal temple was found a great stepped altar 16′ 10″ wide, 11′ 10″ deep, and 3′ high. It is made of bricks resting upon a foundation of undressed stones. It contains four steps in all, the lowest one being much broader than the upper one, and a balustrade on either side of the steps. The excavator regards this structure as by far the most remarkable of its kind ever found in Western Asia. (*PEF*, 1929, p. 83.) We are reminded of the passage in Ex. 20:23: "Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not uncovered thereon."

actly as she is designated in Jer. 44:17, *malkât shamayim.* Taken over then by the Philistines, with whom the Egyptian mercenaries from the Aegean region stationed in Beisân probably merged,[29] these temples were dedicated to Astarte, the Ashtaroth of the Bible, and to Dagon.[30] It was in the temple of Ashtaroth that the armor of Saul was placed (variant: house of their gods) when the Philistines defeated the Israelites on Mt. Gilboa about 1020 B. C. E. They hung his body on the wall of the fortress of Beth-shan, or according to the variant account, they fastened his head in the temple of Dagon.[31]

With the exception of a good deal of Iron Age pottery, "which proves that Beth-shan was occupied during the Israelite period," no trace of Israelite occupancy of Beth-shan remains, because of the "wholesale leveling carried out by Hellenistic and Roman builders."[32] However, it seems to have been taken by David, and according to I K. 4:12, it belonged to Solomon. The Israelites probably made use of the Dagon or Ashtaroth temple to worship their god, "and in the shape of one of these converted buildings, we may have the oldest known Israelite building dedicated to Jahwe."[33] In 107 B. C. E. the town yielded to John Hyrcan and remained under Jewish rule till the arrival of Pompey in 64 B. C. E.[34]

Various objects of Aegean, Syro-Hittite, and Mesopotamian origin[35]

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[29] *PEF*, 1927, p. 71, 77.
[30] I Sam. 31:10.
[31] I Sam. 31:10; I Chron. 10:10.
[32] *BASOR*, 12, p. 18.
[33] *PEF*, 1927, p. 79; II Sam. 8:12.
[34] Josephus: *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIII, 10, 3.
[35] In the temple precincts of the time of Thothmes III (Thutmosis) a panel was found recently with representations in two registers of beast combats between a lion and a gigantic dog, the latter defending the temple against the lion, emblematic of death and destruction. Dr. Albright believes that the panel may be explained as "an example of the art of Syria and Northern Mesopotamia during the age of the Hurrian cultural empire, which flourished between the 17th and 14th centuries B. C." According to him, "no monuments of even remotely artistic value, aside from some of Egyptian origin, have hitherto been discovered in the pre-Hellenistic strata of Palestine." (*BASOR*, 33, p. 3f.) In this connection it is interesting to note the passages in I K. 17:24f., to which Dr. Lauterbach has called my attention. The Assyrian colonists in Samaria because of their ignorance of the "manner of the God of the land," were attacked by lions, who killed some of them. From the level of Thothmes III came also several Syro-Hittite seals and a Hittite axe-head indicating a northern influence in Beisan. (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 3, 1929; *PEF*, 1929, p. 82.) Cult objects

have been found, which illustrate well the fact that the Israelites took possession of a center in which the lines of the great world cultures merged.

Among the most interesting finds in Beisân were numerous symbols of serpents,—one representing a serpent with human breasts and a milk-bowl beneath them, another a serpent with human breasts, with a small serpent coiled around its neck; also a pottery-bowl with an undulating serpent in high-relief on the exterior.[36] It is therefore probable that Beth-shan was the center of an extensive serpent cult in Palestine, practiced already in the time of Thothmes III. It has been suggested that the name Beth-shan is to be connected with the name of the ancient Sumarian serpent-deity Shahan, and means then the "house of the serpent-god."[37]

Conclusive proof that serpent worship was practiced in Palestine has now been furnished from the excavations carried on in tell-beit-mirsim (Kiriath-sepher), thirteen miles southwest of Hebron. A limestone stele representing the serpent goddess of the ancient Canaanites was found. A large, well modeled serpent is coiled around the legs of the goddess, and is "the first native Canaanite representation of a deity yet discovered, aside from Astarte figurines and similar

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from the Aegean region, and a magnificent onyx cylinder seal, testifying to Assyrian occupancy, have been unearthed. (*PEF*, 1927, p. 71, 79.)

A similar coming together of various cultural influences can be seen in the excavations at another Egyptian outpost, Byblos, in southwest Syria on the Mediterranean coast. It is the Gebal of the Bible (I K. 5:32; Ezek. 27:9), and was maintained to secure cedar for buildings and for boats. Pottery was found inscribed with the names of Egyptian kings from as early as the 4th dynasty, 2700 B. C. E.. However, as yet nothing has been found out there about the Phoenicians. (Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 11, 23, 14; Zoller, I.: Syrisch-palästinensische Altertümer: *Monatschrift fur die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Frankfurt, Vol. 72, p. 232.) In a grave in Byblos was found a sword, Sumerian in form, Egyptian in its adornment of an Uraus serpent; and also a silver pitcher and plate, doubtless Aegean in origin. The cultural relationship between Byblos, the Mediterranean world, Egypt and Babylon becomes thus graphically evident. (*ZDPV*, 51:2, p. 130; Gressmann, H.; *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, Berlin, 1927. Ill. 614, 615, 668A.)

[36] *PEF*, 1928, p. 82, 85, 75.

[37] *PEF*, 1928, p. 75; *Archiv fur Orientforschung*, Berlin, IV:4, p. 170; Hempel, J.: Westliche Kultureinflüsse auf d. älteste Palästina: *Palästinajahrbuch*, Berlin, 1927, p. 76, note 1.

small objects."[38] We are reminded of the *nehushtan,* II K. 18:4, the brazen serpent destroyed in the reign of Hezekiah, and of the staff of Moses changed to a serpent. (Ex. 4:3f.; 7:15).[39]

The excavations reveal to us the environment of the early Israelites, the cultural world they moved in, the gods they beheld and adopted. We can understand their feelings when they saw these massively fortified cities, towering to the skies. At tell en-nesbeh,[40] e. g., about seven miles north of Jerusalem, an ancient wall was found about 35 feet high and 16 to 20 feet thick. Small wonder that the scouts brought back the report "the cities are strong and fortified up to the heavens."[41] The very inhabitants of the land appeared giants to them.

For the Palestinian archaeologist, as Dr. Albright points out, "the most important feature of the work of Beisân is the extraordinary precision in dating pottery, which is possible, thanks to the numerous and exactly dated levels.[42] The dating of pottery was developed into an exact science by Père Vincent, and the insignificant potsherds that litter up every *tell* have assumed primary scientific importance. Dr. Albright especially, as a result of many trips made after the war throughout Palestine, showed how the art had perfected itself, to determine from potsherds strewn along the side of a *tell* the age of its various settlements. It is now possible to assign pieces of pottery picked up on a site to the stone, bronze or iron age, or to later periods, and thus to know from the start if a hill has any historical associa-

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[38]*BASOR,* 31, p. 6; 33, p. 4.

[39]Cf. Numbers 21:4-9: Morgenstern, J.: *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch,* Cincinnati, 1927, p. 125, note 119; Albright, J.: *ZAW,* 47:1, p. 6.

It is interesting to note that dove cult objects were also found. As W. R. Smith points out, "the fact that the dove was not used by the Hebrews for any ordinary sacrifice, involving a sacrificial meal, can hardly be in its origin, independent of the sacrosanct character, ascribed to this bird in the religion of the heathen Semites. . . . . In Palestine also the dove was sacred with the Phoenicians and Philistines and on this superstition is based the common Jewish accusation against the Samaritans, that they were worshipers of the dove." (W. R. Smith: *Religion of the Semites,* London, 1927, p. 219; *Hulin,* 6a; *BASOR,* 31, p. 8.)

[40]*BASOR,* 26, p. 5; *PEF,* 1929, p. 3; Barton: *Historical Results of Recent Explorations in Palestine and Iraq,* p. 774.

[41]Nu. 13:28; Deut. 1:28; 9:1.

[42]*BASOR,* 33, p. 4.

[43]Thomsen, *op. cit.,* p. 8f.; Alt, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

tions and if and where it would be at all expedient to undertake excavations. The identification of a site, solely on the basis of a present-day name similar to the ancient recorded one is a dangerous practice that has now been superseded.

A great excavation has been going on at Megiddo at the western end of the Jezreel Valley, under the auspices of the University of Chicago since 1925, supervised now by Mr. Guy. It had been partly excavated by A. Schumacher on behalf of the Deutscher Palästina-Verein in 1903-05. Like Beth-shan at the other end of the valley, Megiddo has from earliest times occupied a commanding position on the highway from Egypt to Asia. Guarding the pass through the ridge, the seaward end of which is called Mt. Carmel, Megiddo, Armageddon, has been the site of battles for supremacy from earliest times. "It was here that Lord Allenby advancing from the south met and defeated the Turkish forces, winning for England the mastery that had once been Egypt's."[44] Excavations along the slopes of the *tell* have disclosed stone implements used by the Stone Age man thousands of years ago. "Above this earliest settlement," Prof. Breasted predicts, "will be that of the first metal users in Palestine, some 5000 years old, and over all these levels will be the strata of successive historic ages, culminating in the wealthy city captured by Thothmes III in the early 15th century. The city remained in Egyptian hands for centuries and must be filled with monuments of the Pharaohs, as well as with those of the great kings of Western Asia."

Many evidences of Egyptian occupation have already been found.[45] One stone was discovered, upon which, inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs, was the name of the Egyptian king Shishak. It was he who had invaded Palestine and captured Jerusalem in the 10th century B. C. E., as we learn from the Book of Kings.[46] According

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[44]Cf. Breasted, J. H.: in *General Circular No. 2*, Aug. 1928, of the Oriental Institute of the U. of Chicago, p. 18f..

[45]Among others a seal depicting "an Egyptian Pharaoh reclining in a palanquin carried on the shoulders of his bearers and preceded by two religious standards: one Egyptian, surmounted by the image of the god Anubis, the other Asiatic, bearing a symbol of the Asiatic moon god. This seal points clearly to a long-continued early Egyptian occupation and to the periodic appearance of an Egyptian sovereign in the temple ceremonies in Palestine long before the erection of a Hebrew temple there." (Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 22.)

[46]I K. 14:25-26.

to the inscriptions of Shishak on the temple at Karnak, he had captured Megiddo also. The biblical records are silent on this score, and the claim had been doubted by scholars. However, the indubitable evidence of this monument verified his assertion. He had indeed conquered Megiddo.[47]

Four strata have thus far been examined there, extending from the 4th-10th centuries B. C. E.. The fourth one from the top is undoubtedly Solomonic, and has yielded "very important material for our knowledge of the builder's art of that time," according to Dr. Albright.[48] A sensational discovery was made last year. As the debris of the Solomonic level was removed, a number of monolithic stone pillars began to appear. In years gone by, they would immediately have been characterized as *massebot,* and the discovery of an ancient sanctuary proclaimed. The time however has passed when every upright stone was considered a *massebah,* every hollowed out stone-block an altar, when they were usually wall supports or water-basins.[49] The excavator withheld his decision till, as more and more of these pillars appeared, arranged in rows of twelve along each side of a central passage way, it became apparent that the pillars, each pierced with a hole, were nothing more nor less than hitching posts, and that he had uncovered the stables of Solomon. Between the pillars, to each of which a horse was attached, were stone mangers. The floor of the central passage was paved with hydraulic lime plaster, as hard as cement, while the stalls in which the horses stood were paved with small cobblestones to prevent their slipping. This discovery corroborates I K. 9:15-19, II Chr. 8:6, mentioning Megiddo among other cities, which Solomon rebuilt and equipped for "chariots and chariot-horses."[50]

The Coastal Plain, where the Philistines took firm foothold during the time of Ramses III (1198-1167)[51] has been the scene of several excavations, to determine more about this rather enigmatic people.

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[47]Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[48]*BASOR*, 33, p. 2.
[49]Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[50]*BASOR*, 33, p. 2; Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[51]Hempel, *Westliche Kultureinflusse auf das alteste Palastina*, p. 54f.. The characterization "Philistines from Kaftor" (Amos 9:7) is regarded as correct. (Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 414f.; Zoller, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 64, 67.)

Work in Askelon and Gaza, 1920-23, proved disappointing, because the excavators were prevented in both places from reaching the Philistine level by the vast extent of superimposed ruins. Some Philistine pottery was found [52] however. Philistine occupation or influence has been attested to especially in Beth-shemesh, Gezer, Beth-shan and Kiriath-sefer.[53] With regard to the latter, Dr. Albright writes, "From about 1150 to the early 10th century, Philistine pottery was imported in quantities. Since we know that Judah was tributary to the Philistines in the 11th century B. C. E., in the time of Samson and Samuel, this is not at all surprising. There can be little doubt that the culture of the Philistines influenced Israel to a much greater extent than is commonly realized."[54] They were the ones who introduced the general use of iron, and controlled the trade in it.[55] The pottery of the Philistines shows a rapid degeneracy from the time of its appearance in Palestine on. This is explained through the using up of the cultural energies of the people in the lasting warfare with the Israelites.[56] Prior to the coming of the Philistines, however, Palestine had long been subjected to influences from the Aegean cultural-center, which entered Palestine by way of Egypt and Asia-Minor.[57] Characteristic pottery and metal work found in many excavations render silent testimony to this influence.[58]

As is to be expected, considerable traces of Egyptian occupancy are to be found in the towns of the Negeb. Excavations in Gerar, one of the southern-most cities of Palestine, associated with stories of Abraham and Isaac,[59] have shown that it stood practically all the time in

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[52]Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[53]Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 162; *PEF*, 1929, p. 3; *BASOR*, 31, p. 5; Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 11; *PEF*, 1927, p. 77.

[54]*BASOR*, 31, p. 9.

[55]*The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II, p. 292. Two ovens for the melting of iron have been found in Gerar, tell jemmah, excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie. (*PEF*, 1929, p. 113). Hempel has pointed out that the passages in I Sam. 13; 19ff. gain an added interest from this discovery. (Hempel, *ZAW*, 47:1, p. 65; *PEF*, 1927, p. 137.)

[56]Hempel, *Westliche Kultureinflüsse auf das alteste Palästina*, p. 63.

[57]Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 88.

[58]Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 52f., 77f., 88; *BASOR*, 31, p. 7; p. 11, note 3.

[59]Gen. 10:10; 20:1f.; 26:20.

close connection with Egypt, whence it derived its building technique and general cultural imprint.[60]

The excavations at tell beit-mirsim, south-west of Hebron, identified with Kiriath-sefer (Debir),[61] conducted by Dr. Albright and President Kyle in the spring of 1926 and 1928 have revealed an occupancy dating from the 19th century B. C. E. to the beginning of the 6th century B. C. E., after which the site was never again occupied, till the spades of the diggers began to pry into its secrets. The name of the city of Kiriath-sefer may mean "Book-City," or "Scribe-City," and it has been suggested that there was a library of cuneiform tablets there.[62] They have not yet been found, but continued excavations on this site may bring them to light. Six strata have been excavated, all separated from one another by burned levels, making their clear demarcation exceptionally easy and establishing most clearly ceramic identification. In the Israelite Iron Age city, hastily and badly rebuilt probably by Othniel,[63] a large number of Astarte figurines were unearthed, one representing a naked goddess holding a dove with outstretched wings to her bosom. Probably destroyed by Shishak [64] the town was rebuilt about 900 and flourished till about

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[60]*PEF*, 1927, p. 129; *ZAW*, 47:1, p. 9; 63f.
The excavations have shown that Gerar, 9 miles south of Gaza, had a history extending from the middle of the second millenium B. C. E. down to Persian times.
A seal has been found with the inscription דרימש אליקם
The second word has been read as Eljakim by Petrie and Hempel. (*ZAW*, 47:1, p. 66). Vincent would read the first word as ברימש "Eliakim, son of Y-m-sh." (*PEF*, 1929, p. 113). Maisler thinks אליקם may refer to Eliakim, the son of Josiah, who was made king in Judah by Pharaoh Necho. (*Haaretz*, Tel Aviv., April 24, 1929). Cf. Lohr, *O. L. Z.*, 1929, No. 5, p. 349.

[61]*BASOR*, 33, p. 4; *ZAW*, 47, I, p. 2f., p. 67. Of three *tubul tells* which came into consideration for the site of Debir, known from the Bible to have been an important Canaanite and Jewish city, on one *tell* there was no Canaanite pottery, another *tell* was too far away from the district in which it must have been located, and tell beit-mirsim, rich in Canaanite and Judean pottery was chosen. (*BASOR*, 23, p. 6; *ZAW*, 47:1, p. 2.)

[62]*BASOR*, 23, p. 3; *ZAW*, 47:1, p. 2, note 3. "Border city" has also been suggested. At this time, away from my books and notes, I cannot give the exact reference.

[63]He captured Kiriath-sefer after Caleb's failure to do so. Josh. 15:16, 17. *BASOR*, 31, p. 8; *ZAW*, 47:1, p. 11.

[64]*ZAW*, 47:1, p. 3; II Chron. 12:4.

597 or 586 B. C. E. It was an important and prosperous place of about 5000 population. Four dye-plants revealed the industrial importance of the city, based on the weaving and dyeing of woolen garments. All kinds of household articles, cosmetic pallettes for women, numerous Astarte figurines, illustrating the worship of the *malkat shamayim* among the Jewesses of the pre-exilic age, were found and give us an intimate glimpse into the daily life of the people, which was little influenced by the precepts of the official religion.[65] An active cultural life is indicated by the presence of a number of interesting inscriptions on stamped jar handles, discovered in this stratum.[66] The most important was one containing the impression of the seal of "Eliakim, servant of Jochan" who must be Joiachin קם לאלי נער יוכן who ruled for three months in 597, at which time then the seal may be exactly dated.[67]

The importance of these inscriptions cannot be overestimated. For all that, Palestine remains a "silent land." Complete records, or even partially complete ones, which might give us exact information in generous quantity have thus far not been found. It occurs at times that a complete *tell*, for which no definite identification can be otherwise secured, is excavated, without certainty with regard to the name of the site being obtained. Phantom cities are revealed before the spades of the excavators, and where evidence is lacking, their identity remains uncertain. Yet even so they reveal the general cultural connections and life of the section they dominate.[68]

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[65] *BASOR*, 31, p. 10.

[66] Two stamped jar-handles were found, bearing the inscription "belonging to the king, Hebron." They belong "to the fiscal administration of Judah and illustrate the use of the standard measures of oil and wine as a kind of currency. Hebron was one of the four local administrative centres." On one pot-sherd was found the inscription בת indicating that the vessel held about 36 litres; on another were the first letters of the name "Uzziah." (*BASOR*, 31, p. 10.)

[67] Cf. I Chron. 4:22; *ZAW*, 47:1, p. 16; *BASOR*, 31, p. 11; 33, p. 5.

[68] Alt, *op. cit.*, p. 16f..

Tell el-hesi, e. g., considered to be Lachish is identified with Eglon by Dr. Albright. (*ZAW*, 47:1, p. 3, n. 2.) The site of tell el-fari', in the Negeb, excavated in 1927 and 1928, is exceedingly strong and must have played an important role in the history of Judah. It was occupied from as early as the middle Bronze down to about the 3rd century C. E.. Vincent and Albright doubt the identification with Beth-pelet (*PEF*, 1929, p. 114) and Albright would identify it with

Jerusalem has long been a center of archaeological activity. Its very prominence, however, has prevented it from becoming the mine of information it was expected to, although much material of value has been discovered, especially "for our knowledge of the ancient fortifications of the city on the western side of the hill, before the end of the Maccabean period."[69] The constant storms and devastations which have swept over this place, have destroyed too many vestiges of the life which once crowded it.[70]

A number of discoveries have been made in Jerusalem of considerable importance, such as the tunnel dug by Hezekiah 1750 feet long through solid rock, leading the spring of Gihon into the Pool of Siloam within the city walls, and assuring the city a supply of water during a time of siege. More important for us was the commemorative tablet found in the tunnel celebrating the completion of the work

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Sharuhen, a town of Simeon. (*BASOR*, 33, p. 7.) But no data have been recovered from the excavations, which would definitely determine its identity.

Tell en-nasbe, 7 miles north of Jerusalem, excavated in 1926-7, by Dean Badè has been identified by him as Mizpah (*BASOR*, 26, p. 5.) partly on the basis of a jar-handle found there containing the letters מצפ. From the 1929 campaign Prof. Bade reports the finding of a very clear Mizpah seal. (*BASOR*, 34, p. 9.) Tell en-nasbe has been identified as Gibeon by Prof. Alt (*Palastinajahrbuch*, 1926, p. 11), as Beerot by Dr. Albright (*BASOR*, 26, p. 5). (Cf. *ZAW*, 47:1, p. 68.) The massive Middle Bronze Age wall, showing signs of repair at a later date, is related by the excavator to I K. 15:16, where it is stated that Asa, king of Judah, fortified the walls of Mizpah against the encroachments of the Northern Kingdom. A sealed cistern, forming the bottom of one of the Exilic silos is connected by Badè with the events narrated in Jer. 40 and 41. Cf. Jer. 41:9f..

[69] *BASOR*, 33, p. 6.

[70] "And Chaldeans burned the king's house, and the house of the people with fire, and broke down the walls of Jerusalem." (Jer. 39:10.) An oft-repeated event in the annals of Jerusalem. An instance of the wholesale destruction in Jerusalem carried on sometimes by the inhabitants themselves for defensive purposes is narrated by Josephus. When Simon the Maccabee dislodged the Syrians from the citadel of Jerusalem in 142 B.C.E., which probably stood somewhere in the neighborhood of the Temple of Jerusalem, he had it and the entire elevation upon which it stood destroyed. "So they all set themselves to work and leveled the mountain . . . which cost them three whole years before it was removed and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city." (Antiquities of the Jews, XIII, 6, 7.) Every trace of the city of David, of Solomon, of Hezekiah, was removed. The ruin begun by Nebuchadnezzar was completed. (Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 194.)

by the builders.[71] The walls of the Jebusite city captured by David have been exposed. The fortress-tower found, covering a break in these walls, has been identified as the Millo built by Solomon to repair the breach, which his father David made in them.[72] A hitherto unsuspected valley on the north of Jebusite Jerusalem, running east from the Tyropaean Valley has been discovered. Extended eastward by a broad and deep rock cut trench, it formed together with the wall which rose above it, the defence of the city on the north. What is believed to have been the earliest altar in Jerusalem was found at the southern end of this causeway. An Abraham paying tithes to Melchizedek might have offered sacrifices there to the local god before entering the city.[73] A large number of coins have been found in the excavations in the Tyropaean Valley carried on in 1927-8 under Mr. Crowfoot, their chronological distribution ranging from about 150 B. C. E. to 70 C. E.[74]

Among the most interesting of recent discoveries in Jerusalem is that of the so-called Third Wall. It was uncovered in 1921 by Mr. Sukenik and Dr. Mayer under the auspices of the Palestine Jewish Exploration Society. The excavations have shown that this wall, which runs along the northern part of old Jerusalem, was the one built by Herod Agrippa I (41-44 C. E.) as mentioned by Josephus.[75] The foundations of the wall were built most strongly out of carefully hewn stones in the Herodian style. The upper section consisted of

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[71]Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 121. The second half of the tunnel of Hezekiah makes a great bend in a series of curves, in order, it has been suggested, to avoid the tombs of the Judean kings, still known according to Josephus in the time of Herod. (Antiquities, XVI, 7, 1.) Excavations revealed some large, rock chambers, which may have been the tombs, but which had already been cleared out in ancient times, some of them having been converted into cisterns. (Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 112.) Warren also discovered an underground passage leading from the Jebusite fortress to the ancient spring of Gihon. It has been identified with the *tsinnor.* of II Sam. 5:8. Joab, leading his men through it, once took the city by surprise. (Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 93; fig. 241; Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 102, 177f.; II Sam. 5:6f.)

[72]I K. 11:27; *ZDPV*, 50, p. 307, 8; Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 104f.; Macalister, R. A. S., Duncan, J. G.: *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel*, 1923-5, p. 79f..

[73]Barton, *Recent Explorations in Palestine and Iraq*, p. 770; *AASOR*, VI, p. 63.

[74]*PEF*, 1928, p. 15.

[75]*Wars of the Jews*, V, 4, 2, 3.

raw blocks of stone. This bears out Josephus, who reports that Herod Agrippa I began the construction of the wall, and that Emperor Claudius prevented its completion. It was finished in a great hurry after the outbreak of the revolution in 66 C. E.[76] This wall indicates the relatively tremendous size of Jerusalem in the second half of the first century, occupying about twice as much territory as the present walled city of Jerusalem. It has important bearing upon the question of the site of the Holy Sepulchre which now, in the very heart of old Jerusalem, was supposed to be outside the city walls. (John 19:20; Hebrews 13:12.) According to Dr. Albright, "excavations in Jerusalem have been most discouraging."[77] "The city of David ended as the quarry of Jerusalem," it has been said.[77A] Were excavations permitted within the temple-area, much might be found, but the religious scruples of the Mohammedans prevent any such activity. The amusing attempt of Parker in 1911 to find the ark, south of the temple-area, besides discrediting scientific research, aroused the wrath of the Moslems, who feared he intended excavating under the Mosque of Omar.[78]

Of equal amusing interest is the reported discovery of Solomon's favorite wife, an Egyptian, and Solomon's account of her death. Of similar nature is a report that the position of the lost ark of the covenant was located in a valley on the slopes of Mt. Nebo; or that a search is to be made for it on Mt. Ararat with a view to having it exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair in 1933.[79]

A splendid example of how archaeological finds and historical tradition agree with one another is furnished by the excavations carried out in 1922 by Dr. Albright at tell el-fūl, the Gibeah of Saul, about three miles north of Jerusalem. He determined the sequence of four different strata, in consonance with biblical reports. The ruins of a small fortress, destroyed by fire near the end of the 12th century B. C. E., as could be determined by the remains,[80] fit in exactly with the report in Judges 19:20,[81] describing the punishment of the Benjam-

[76]Josephus, *Wars* V. 4, 2; *BASOR*, 25, p. 1; 26, p. 8; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 228; *PEF*, 1925, p. 182.
[77]*BASOR*, 33, p. 6; [77A]*ZDPV*, 50, p. 306.
[78]Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[79]*PEF*, 1929, p. 116, 117.
[80]*AASOR*, IV, p. 7.
[81]Cf. Judges 20:40.

inites for their crime against the concubine of the Levite, and describing the burning of Gibeah. Above the layer of ashes lay a second fortress, much more carefully constructed, containing a superior kind of pottery, and iron implements, etc. It must have been Saul's residence.[82] It was plundered after his death, but soon again restored.[83] However, after the assassination of Ishbaal and the uniting of the kingdom under David, Gibeah no longer possessed any value, and for a century at least remained unoccupied, as is attested to by the lack of pottery remains during this time.[84] A third fortress hastily built with stones identified as coming from quarries from some distance, and in the construction of which a large number of timbers had been used, as indicated by the mass of stone slivers, charred potsherds, and cinders, which filled the central chambers of the basement, is undoubtedly that described in I K. 15:22: "Then king Asa made a proclamation to all Judah; . . . and they carried away the stones of Ramah, and the timber thereof . . . . and king Asa built therewith Gibeah of Benjamin and Mizpah."[85]

The destruction of the third fortress is ascribed by the excavator to Joash of Israel, about 790 B. C. E. after his defeat of Amaziah. Destroying part of the north wall of Jerusalem, he could not be expected to leave a fortress like that of Gibeah untouched. Restored then once more by Uzziah, who erected fortresses all around the borders of Judah (II Chr. 26:6-10),[86] it was presumably destroyed during the Syro-Ephraimitic war a generation later, and not again rebuilt till the Maccabean period, in 166-161 B. C. E., and then later abandoned. The site itself, however, as pottery shows, had been continuously inhabited till the first century C. E.. Houses were built over the site of the fortress during the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, between 100 B. C. E. and 100 C. E., after which time, as the total absence of Roman-Byzantine potsherds proves, Gibeah was no longer occupied.[87]

Farther north excavations have been going on in Balatah, hitherto supposed to be the site of Shechem. However the last campaign in

[82] I Sam. 10:26; 15:34.
[83] *AASOR*, IV, p. 8; Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[84] *AASOR*, IV, p. 17, 52.
[85] *AASOR*, IV, p. 52. Rd. Gibeah for Gebah.
[86] *AASOR*, IV, p. 53.
[87] *AASOR*, IV, p. 54f..

the summer of 1928,—the sixth since the war,—has induced the conclusion that Balatah is not the site of Shechem, which must have been where Nablus now stands, but is rather the site of the Beth-Millo, of Judges 9:6, 20, 45f., mentioned in the story of the crowning of Abimelech. A rectangular, strong tower was uncovered, the upper chamber of which measures 85 by 68 feet, with walls 16 feet thick.[88] After having destroyed the city of Shechem, Abimelech set fire to this tower of Shechem outside of the city, where about 1000 men and women had taken refuge. A chamber of such measurements could easily hold such a number. Of special importance are the relics found, illustrative of the multiplicity of cultural influences, prevalent in practically every Palestinian town.[89]

The results of the excavations at Samaria, conducted from 1908 to 1910, and published in complete form in 1924,[90] form another excellent illustration of the importance of archaeology for the proper understanding of Palestinian history. The ruins of Samaria, which Omri built from the ground up—the first city the Hebrews had not simply taken over—tell us more about him than may be gleaned from the biased report of the Bible, where, after brief mentioning, he is dismissed with little ado. His, however, seems to have been the outstanding figure among Israelitic kings, to judge from Assyrian and Moabite sources.[91] To the original buildings of Omri, built directly upon virgin rock, with no Canaanite strata beneath them,—a confirmation thus of the biblical statement, that it was he who built Samaria—were added wings by Ahab and Jeroboam II.[92] The additions made by Ahab recall the story of Naboth's vineyard in I K. 21. In one of the houses of Ahab were found 67 Ostraka, written in

[88] *PEF*, 1929, p. 2.59.

[89] Evidence gathered on the site indicates that it was occupied from before the middle of the Middle Bronze Age down to the early Roman period, i. e., to about 67 C. E. when it was destroyed by Vespasian (*BASOR*, 33, p. 8). Of individual finds may be mentioned a jar-handle, which bore the imprint of a scarab of the 12th dynasty and of a Babylonian cylinder seal of the 2nd millenium B. C. E.. (*A. f. O.*, V:1, p. 38). Two cuneiform tablets of the Amarna period were found (*ZDPV*, 49, p. 321-7) and an Israelitic house-altar of the 8-7 centuries B. C. E. (Wiener, H. M.: *The Altars of the Old Testament*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 16.)

[90] Reisner, G. A., Fisher, C. S., Lyon, O. G.: *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1908-10; Cambridge, 1924.

[91] Cf. above, p. 1, n. 3, 4.

[92] *ZDPV*, 50, p. 299f.; I K. 22:10, 39; 10:18; Amos 6:14.

black ink, as was customary in old Egypt.[93] They are invaluable for the epigraphy, and with their place names, for the topography of Palestine.[94] They seem to have been memoranda, "waybills," sent in along with jars of wine and oil.[95] On the north wall of the castle a deep water-basin was discovered;[96] it is the pool of Samaria. In the battle against the Arameans, Ahab was mortally wounded. "So the king died, and was brought to Samaria. And they washed the chariot by the pool of Samaria; and the dogs licked up his blood."[97]

Abundant evidence of Egyptian and other cultural influences were found.[98] Herod the Great completely rebuilt the city, renaming it Sebaste in honor of Augustus.[99]

A recent excavation in Palestine of especial interest is that of an ancient synagog in Beth-alpha, one of the thriving Jewish colonies in the western part of the Jezreel Valley. It was a three-sectional basilica of the Greco-Roman style, with a nave and two flanking halls. The sections were set off by three rows of simple pillars, which apparently supported a balcony for women. A small collection box containing about thirty coins was found. The orientation of the house of worship was to the south, as in all synagogs of the provinces north

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[93]Gressmann, H.: Ausgrabungen in Palästina: *Der Morgen*, Berlin, 1926, p. 615.

[94]*ZDPV*, 50, p. 300f., 303.

[95]Gressmann, *l. c.*; Zoller, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 294f.

[96]*ZDPV*, 50, p. 302.

[97]I K. 22:37.

[98]There were many Egyptian scarabs, beads and amulettes. A large two-handled jar, made of Egyptian alabaster, was found. On one side it contained an Egyptian inscription, indicating that it came from the time of Pharaoh Osorkon II, a contemporary of Ahab. (*ZDPV*, 40, p. 298; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 291; Zoller, *op. cit.*, p. 236). Above the ruins of the Hebrew city were the remains of a city built by the Assyrians. This was inferred by the character of the building materials employed and by the fragment of a clay tablet found there. (Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 110). We know from II K. 17:24 that after 722 B. C. E. Samaria was resettled by colonists from Assyria. It was occupied till 109 B. C. E., when it was destroyed by John Hyrcan. (*ZDPV*, 51:2, p. 127; Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, 10. 2, 3.

[99]He erected a magnificent temple to Augustus in 30 B. C. E.. A colossal statue of Augustus was set up; its torso can still be seen facing the magnificent flight of steps leading up to the temple ruins. Herod also laid out a magnificent avenue of pillars, and built a market place, with a basilica, a hippodrome and a theatre. Later in 200 C. E., Septimus Severus made Samaria a Roman colony. (Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 615f.)

of Jerusalem.[100] It had a mosaic floor depicting the complete zodiac—the only complete one thus far found.[101] The mosaic shows a lion and an antelope (?) flanking the middle entrance of the actual synagog. Between these two pictures two inscriptions were discovered, of which the upper was in Greek and the lower in Aramaic. The Greek inscription reveals the names of the two craftsmen "Marianos" and "the son of Hanina" who made the pavement. The other inscription, though partly destroyed is even more important, for through it, for the first time in Palestine, a synagog can be exactly dated. It informs us that the mosaic pavement was made during the reign of Emperor Justin, of the first quarter of the 6th century C. E.. A space intervening, the rest of the mosaic is divided into three parts. The first with representations of the Ark, the seven-armed candlestick, the lulab, etc.; the second is devoted to scriptural scenes, among the most interesting of which is that of the sacrifice of Isaac, with inscriptions in Hebrew describing the incident, such as "Abraham," "Lay not thine hand," "And behold a ram." The two servants with the donkey, the ram caught in the thicket, Abraham grasping Isaac, the altar, and the hand of God extended from the heavens to prevent Abraham from sacrificing his son are depicted. A row of date-palms separates this picture from that of the zodiac. In its center is the sun-chariot drawn by four fleeting horses, surrounded by stars and planets. At the four corners of the zodiac are four pictures, representing the four cycles of the year, with explanatory inscriptions in Hebrew. The entire is surrounded by a frame, containing within it pictures of birds, animals,

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[100] *Menorah Journal*, May, 1929, p. 446.

[101] Other zodiacs have previously been found in synagogs uncovered at Ain Dok and Kfar Bir'im, but in fragmentary form. (*PEF*, 1929, p. 115.)

Worked in the mosaic floor of the synagog of Ain Dok, besides the four seasons and twelve signs of the zodiac, all with Hebrew names, were Old Testament themes such as Daniel in the lion's den; also the inscription: "Honored be the memory of every one who takes stout hold and gives . . . in this holy place, whether gold or silver or any valuable. Be made sure their share in this holy place. Amen." (Cooke, S. A.: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel: *Old Testament Essays*, London, 1927, p. 105f.; Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 113, 4; *ZDPV*, 51:2, p. 135; 50 p. 132; Klein S.: *Judisch-palastinensisches Corpus Inscriptionum;* Kohl, H., Watzinger, C.: *Antike Synagogen in Galilee*, Leipzig, 1916.)

fruits, etc.. The colors of the stones still sparkle in their original vividness.[102]

Also in other synagogs in Palestine, various Jewish symbols are used as decorative elements, such as the seven-branched candlestick; but at times not only animal forms, but human bodies and heathen mythological figures are used. In the reliefs of the synagog at Chorazin were sculptured strange composite figures like Centaurs, a Roman soldier, Dionysus figures, besides animals, birds, foliage of various kinds.[103] The partly restored ruins of the synagog at Capernaum, decorated with lovely friezes, are still most impressive and beautiful, and reflect readily the magnificence of this structure, which occupied such a commanding site on the Sea of Galilee.[104]

The discoveries in Beth-alpha and elsewhere strengthen the conviction that scientific research and excavation unflaggingly carried out will bring to light many more treasures of the Jewish past. The important knowledge thus far gained is but a harbinger of that which careful labor is yet to reveal. Palestinian archaeology is still young. It has objective scientific value always and relative subjective appeal sometimes. The average individual is interested on the whole in startling finds, in confirmation of biblical information, and can therefore at times be somewhat disappointed in the results achieved. Naturally a complete written record, a beautiful inscribed statue or vase, a sword or crown of exquisite taste and workmanship are desirable for themselves, and for the culture-niveau they indicate. The lack of them, their total absence at times are scientifically just as valuable, for thus also is indicated the stage of civilization of a people. And when a multiplicity of treasure-troves is not found, a richness of pottery remains can be just as revealing of the course of civilized life. In view of the lack of other articles, destroyed either through the ravages of climate or man, the ordinary carving implement and cooking pot and water-vessel, assume a cultural role of transcendent importance. From the second millennium on, imported pottery and cruder native imitations reveal the influences which molded Palestin-

[102] *PEF*, 1929, p. 115. Private communication of Hebrew University.

[103] Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 313; *ZDPV*, 50, p. 313; Tosefot Yoma, 54, a b f..

[104] Luke 7:4, 5.

ian life. And especially in Palestine must we content ourselves with the fullness of detail, which the large masses of ceramics provide, rather than with the richness and immediate attractiveness and more apparent instructiveness of spectacular discoveries,—although to a degree they too are found. Papyri-documents which must at one time have existed have not and probably will not be found. They have all long ago crumbled to dust in the damp soil of Palestine.

We have dwelt on the amazing paucity of inscriptional material in Palestine. A number of cuneiform tablets have been found in Jericho, Lachish, Gezer, Schechem, and Jerusalem, and a number of potsherds and monuments with Hebraic inscriptions. However, complete revealing records are notably and disappointingly absent. The material preserved is, however, sufficient proof that the art of writing was not unknown in Palestine in ancient times. On the contrary, literacy must have been fairly wide spread. A casual boy seized by Gideon could write down for his information a list of the chief men of Succoth. (Judges 8:14). The wine merchants and officials in Samaria kept records; the workmen who completed the Siloam tunnel were sufficiently versed in writing to inscribe a record on the wall, telling how the work was done and finished. The peasants of Gezer could keep and write an agricultural calendar.[105] Surely the epic art of the Bible could not have risen from an illiterate soil. King Mesha of Moab set up a monument describing his victories. Where then are the monuments of the Judean and Israelite kings? One need but call to mind again the wars which raged over Palestine, the bridge between Egypt and Asia. How often were treasuries despoiled, temples robbed, cities burned and razed, complete provinces laid waste. It is indeed a marvel that any cultural records at all have survived the stress of the times. Perhaps, too, as has been suggested, there may have been some willful destruction of inscriptional material, by fanatic followers of Jahweh, for the same reason that the *Neḥushtan* was destroyed. The early Hebrews worshiped many gods, and when they dedicated their monuments gave thanks not always to Jahwe or to him alone. But then some monuments dedicated to Jahwe might have survived, we should imagine. Much material may yet be discovered. We must remember that some of the most likely places for the finding of records

[105]Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

have not been excavated at all, or insufficiently, especially the various sanctuaries, such as Dan, Shiloh, Bethel, Beersheba.[106] But there too must be reckoned with the ravages of war. However, the discoveries thus far made are in themselves sufficient to document the movements of civilization in Palestine, and necessitate for still further clarity the continuance of intensified archaeological activity.

As we have seen, a great deal of information has been gained with regard to the cultural influences of the worlds of Egypt, Asia, and of the Mediterranean basin upon the people of Palestine, and upon the Israelites, who settled there, and absorbed so much from their surroundings. In general it may be said that in terms of physical aspects of civilzation they received more than they gave, and that the period of settlement of the invading tribes was one of cultural retrogression. They never rebuilt the Canaanite cities they destroyed as well as they found them, and when they did begin to construct more firmly and beautifully it was almost always according to foreign forms and with foreign builders. That, however, they did learn how to build, and build well, is shown in Samaria. Naturally they were influenced by the religions of their neighbors, and walked in their ways, and worshiped their gods. The mass of Astarte figurines, for instance, found in purely Israelitic levels, testifies to the religious heterodoxy and confusion of the times. The more amazing and remarkable then the religion of the prophets, which developed so uniquely and lovely from this welter of cultural influences and strange deities.

The work of investigation in Palestine is but begun. Every phase of life in it, old and new, must be investigated; the land itself completely examined in every possible way; all the sites of human habitation excavated, the dwellers of the land passed in review, all the circumstances making for culture and history considered,[107] till the object known as Palestine begins really to be understood, and the particular values, which have gone into its making be subsumed under our knowledge of their totality. Only on this scientific basis of empirical inquiry can we hope partly to comprehend the genius of the land, of the people which was formed in it, and properly to understand its cultural expression. The more we learn about the coun-

[106] *BASOR*, 31, p. 10f.; *BASOR*, 9, p. 10f.; *PEF*, 1927, p. 213, 231.
[107] Dalman, G.: Dass und wie wir Palästinaforschung treiben müssen: *Palastinajahrbuch*, 1924, p. 12f.

tries which bordered and influenced Palestine, the better also we shall be able to judge things and events and peoples in it.

Much work is planned for the future. New or additional excavations are planned for or are now under way at Jericho, Samaria, tell en-nesbeh, Shiloh, Beth-shemesh, Jerusalem, Megiddo, Beth-shan, Hazor, Kiriath-sefer, Tell-fari, and a number of prehistoric sites. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, richly financed, and recently the recipient of a ten-million dollar gift from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is engaged in a grandiose scheme to examine the history of civilization especially in the Near East. It has extended its sphere of activity from Egypt through Palestine and Syria to Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Practically all of the great western nations through their universities and research societies and religious organizations are engaged in research in Palestine. The time has come when we Jews must also participate most actively. Dr. Magnus writes me that the Hebrew University is very much interested in this work, but is seriously hampered by lack of funds for excavations and for publishing their results. The University has, for example, secured from the Department of Antiquities the privilege of excavating and studying the remains of the ancient synagogs there. It plans to begin this coming summer the systematic investigation of Jewish graves and tombs in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. This is the beginning of a systematic inquiry into Jewish tombs and graves throughout the country. In conjunction with the Hebrew Union College, tell el-jerishe near Jaffa was partly excavated, and pottery from late Bronze and early Iron periods were found. (*Pef.* 1929, p. 3.) However, lack of funds has prevented further work. The Hebrew University, through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. F. Warburg, is to be enabled to cooperate with the Samarian expedition of the Fogg Museum of Harvard University.

In reply to a letter of mine Dr. Albright writes: "When you address the rabbis, do not forget to emphasize the fact that Jews have been supporting the work of Jewish archaeologists in Palestine in positively scandalous fashion. It is disgraceful to see what struggles Mr. Sukenik has to undergo in order to get money for small undertakings, after which there is apparently never anything available for publication. Gifts made directly to the Hebrew University for

archaeological purposes would be extremely desirable... Do not forget also to mention the need of acquiring Bittir, and excavating it. The synagogs in Galilee are equally important."

There are any number of pre-exilic sites, such as the ancient sanctuaries, which invite excavation. And in as much as we know practically nothing, archaeologically speaking, about post-exilic Jewish Palestinian life, it were well indeed to excavate Bittir, the scene of Barkochba's last stand, or Masada, the huge fortress, which dominates the western side of the Dead Sea, where the Jewish defenders held out desperately for years after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C. E., finally choosing suicide rather than surrender to the Romans. Naturally all the synagog sites must be exhaustively studied.

Ought not the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in cooperation with the Hebrew University engage in this highly necessary archaeological work in Palestine? I know that the Hebrew University would welcome such cooperation. For a comparatively small sum an excavation can be carried out. I would beg the Conference to consider this matter.

ABBREVIATIONS:

AASOR—Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
A f O—Archiv für Orientforschung.
AOTAT—Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testamente.
BASOR—Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
OLZ—Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
PEF—Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements.
ZAW—Zeitschrift der Alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft.
ZDPV—Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Sheldon Blank: Dr. Glueck has extracted the essential and important facts out of a mass of available material and has presented them clearly and systematically and we owe him our thanks for having done a big task well.

He would of course be the first to claim that what he has said was necessarily a very small part of what might have been said on the subject. As I have been privileged to see, he has had to relegate many exceedingly interesting facts to the position of foot-notes. What the time at his disposal permitted him to say about recent excavations in Palestine sufficed, however, to give us a picture of the work that is being done. He described the labors of a group of men who are obviously animated by the highest ideals of objective scholarship because, as we see, they give themselves to research which is often very disheartening in view of the meagerness of its results and in view of the half-hearted support which their efforts receive from those back home. At an Archaeological Congress in Palestine and Syria which I was privileged to attend as a delegate from the Hebrew Union College, I met excavators from many lands either in attendance at the Congress session or at work at their "diggings" and there was a general complaint among them. These sober scholars are time and again compelled to resort to sensationalism as the only means of making the continuation of their work possible. Sensational discoveries in Palestine are rare and it is to be regretted that we demand them of the excavator as his justification. There is ample reason for exploring the historic soil of Palestine, prosaic though the results may at first sight appear.

There is a right and a wrong way to excavate a *tell.* An expedition with an assured financial backing goes at it in the right way. An expedition that has to beg as it goes must show results and goes at it in the wrong way. A *tell*—(the Hebrew word תל)—is, as has been explained, a mound, easily recognized by its profile, which arose from the decay of successive cities built each upon the ruins of

the one preceding. The obvious way of attacking a *tell* is to remove the debris from one layer after another, charting and carefully recording in detail the contents of each level of occupancy before proceeding to the next. This work must be done by trained men who can take their time at it because the excavator destroys his source material as he goes. If he has not formed a clear picture of the cultural stage represented by the level which he has opened up before he removes it he will never be able to do so. While I was in Palestine I assisted for as much time as I could spare at the excavation of Tell en-Nasbeh, and I remember particularly with what care the Egyptian foremen with small knives and soft brushes cleared away the earth from a skeleton and the objects buried with it in a cave so that all could be photographed *in situ*. Probably the most important find made during that year—1926—the stele at Megiddo which bore the name of Shishak—was found on the rubbish heap of a previous expedition.

The careful and systematic excavation of a *tell* requires not only training but courage, because it is so much easier to use the old prospecting, or trench method, so as to hurry down to earlier levels or to a period one happens to be more interested in, regardless of the fact that in this way important evidence is irrecoverably lost. It is always wrong to approach a site looking for something one thinks should be there. One is not even permitted to set out to find evidence to support the Bible. The ancient warning applies: "Do not make the Torah a spade to dig with." The contrary attitude makes for a sort of vandalism that is not very different from the type excavators continually meet with when evidence shows that robbers have been into a tomb or cave before them.

Excavations must be in the hands of responsible men and they must have assurance of sufficient financial backing to permit them to do their work thoroughly and systematically. It does not take so much as one might think.

An average site can be excavated for three or four thousand dollars a season.

The work of excavation has barely begun. A very few sites have been completely dug and hundreds have never been touched. Up to the present time emphasis has been laid upon sites which illustrate the culture of Palestine previous to the entrance of the Hebrews. They are important as giving the cultural background which Israel largely adopted. But for the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman periods very little evidence has been uncovered. And these are precisely the periods in which we as Jews are particularly interested. Our scanty and uncertain literary records for the Persian and Greek periods, which saw changes of incalculable importance for the history of Judaism, could well afford to be supplemented from contemporary remains. How grateful we would be, for example, for more light on the problem of the origin of the Synagog and the Beth Hamidrash! Some sites such as the site of Bittir mentioned by Prof. Albright in his letter, have unique Jewish interest and will never be dug except by Jews.

In view of the responsibility devolving upon Jews to assist in the development of Palestine as a land of history, a responsibility which must be felt particularly by liberally minded Jews in America, and in view of the disproportionately small part which up to the present time Jews have played in the promotion of Palestinian archaeology, I desire to propose the following resolution which I hope will receive favorable consideration at the hands of the Committee and the Conference:

Be it resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis favors the excavation of an historical Jewish site in Palestine under its auspices and in conjunction with the Hebrew University in the established manner in which that institution cooperates with organizations in such work; and furthermore that it instruct the Executive Board to devise means whereby sufficient funds may be made available for the proper conduct of such an excavation.

If the resolution is passed and the excavation undertaken, a detailed report of the progress of this excavation should be made a yearly order of business of the Conference and be printed in the Year-book.

Rabbi Singer: I have profited by both papers and have been impressed by the suggestion of the last speaker that even in archaeology the distinctively Jewish approach is sometimes marred when the investigator lacks such interest. The significance of a find assumes new meaning in the light of Jewish tradition. As an example I recall how ingenious were the reasons advanced by the late Dr. Deutsch for proving that the "Mogen Dovid" is of recent origin. Aside from the silence of the sources, he found further corroboration in the perplexity of the French Jewish Colonials in the world war who did not know that the graves marked with the "Mogen Dovid" were those of Jews.

When I visited the restored synagog in Capernaum in Galilee I saw three distinct types of the "Mogen Dovid" (one of them quite ornate) used between the Ionic capitol. The Synagog is admittedly of Herodian origin and the blending of Greek architecture with Jewish symbols is quite apparent. What a pity that Dr. Deutsch could not see this refutation of his own theory! He would have added this incident as a caution against hasty conclusions in history.

The same synagog area contains a considerable number of mill-stones. For the most part, milling was a home industry. That the preparation of the Matzos made such equipment necessary is probable. Dr. Henry Cohen informs me that the Peshita calls Capernaum the "city of mills." The discovery of such articles, both useful and ornamental sheds light upon obscure portions of our records, and their value is fully appreciated by the student. We shall do well to encourage such investigation.

Rabbi Morgenstern: I wish first of all to express my per-

Editor's Note: This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Convention.

sonal pleasure and pride in the papers—the paper itself and the discussion, which you have heard.

They give you a fair insight into some of the things that we are trying to accomplish at the Hebrew Union College, and which, we believe, we are succeeding in accomplishing.

Dr. Glueck has of course told you only a part of the story. He has of necessity chosen to confine his presentation to the consideration of the archaeological discoveries in Palestine alone. Had time permitted him to extend the range of his presentation to a consideration of the significance, for example, for Jewish life and history of the archaeological discoveries at Tel El Amarna in Egypt, of the significance of the discoveries in the Mesopotamian Valley, of the light which Assyrian, and Babylonian and Sumerian literature, the result entirely of archaeological excavation, throw upon early Jewish life, upon the interpretation of the Bible, and so forth, of course the survey would have been much more extensive.

We are extremely grateful to Dr. Glueck for what he has done.

I would add just one general word about the significance of this archaeological discovery for Judaism in general and for Reform Judaism in particular.

You heard Dr. Glueck say that the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago is undertaking very extensive archaeological investigations in the country ranging from Egypt on the southwest to Asia Minor and Mesopotamia on the north and east. They are undertaking this under the supervision of our most eminent Egyptologist, Professor Breasted, because of their general interest in the evolution of human culture and human civilization.

Now that is indeed a sufficient reason for the undertaking of an enterprise as far-reaching as this; yet we Jews have a far more significant interest in this work. We have gotten to that place where most of us, perhaps all of us, realize that the actual history of our religion, the actual

history of the unfolding of Judaism, is by no means that which the Bible literally interpreted presents. You heard stated very correctly that the Bible is primarily not an historical document at all, but a theological document, and that the facts which it presents, or aims to present, insofar as it presents facts at all, are presented entirely, or almost entirely, from a theological standpoint, and represent the point of view of Jewish thought in the eighth, seventh, sixth, fifth centuries, and so on, B. C.

It is highly important that we come to know what the actual history of the unfolding of Judaism was; and this we can know only by reinterpreting the Bible from a scientific standpoint, only by reconstructing for ourselves as completely as our sources will permit, the entire picture of the life of Israel in Palestine from the earliest times. And we must understand, furthermore, that we cannot mark off a certain year, let us say, the moment when the Israelite tribes entered into Palestine, and say that that is the beginning of Jewish life, of Jewish culture, of the evolution of the religion of Israel. All that is antecedent, all the culture of which Israel was the heir when it entered the land of Canaan, all this likewise becomes an integral part of our study.

Furthermore, a very important matter is involved, namely, the question of authority in religion. So long as we were orthodox, the question of authority in religion, the authority of Judaism, never arose. The Bible, the Torah, tradition, constituted our authority. But now when we have reached that stage of culture, of educational development, and intellectual progress where we no longer accept the Bible in a literal sense at face value, but seek to get at what it truly means, we must find another source of authority for Judaism. And what can constitute the only source of authority for us? It is the complete evolution of our history; the historic unfolding of Judaism is the source of authority that will guide us in the future development of Judaism from this time on.

To understand all this aright, and to establish our authority upon a firm and sound basis, it is of extreme importance that we know everything that it is possible for us to know of the early history, of the early life, and the early culture of Israel from the remotest times down to today, of all the influences which came in the course of history to bear upon us.

For us, therefore, archaeological investigation in Palestine has a far more direct and a far larger significance than it has for let us say the Oriental department of the University of Chicago, or of any other institution, and for this reason it is imperative that we Jews undertake in a systematic way and upon as large a scale as possible, this task of archaeological investigation in Palestine, and in whatever centers the Jews came to dwell, through which light may be thrown upon our Jewish history.

I earnestly hope that the day will come very soon when the resources of the Hebrew Union College will permit us to have a Chair of Jewish Archaeology, and will permit us likewise to carry on in cooperation with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, but under the auspices of the Hebrew Union College, systematic archaeological investigation, in Palestine.

Rabbi Frisch: I want to say as one who had the privilege of studying with Professor Braested one summer, that I consider this the most authentic and comprehensive, and at the same time the most interesting statement of the findings in the field of archaeology in recent years, and I do believe that we would advantage ourselves very greatly and our teachers and all others who are interested in relating this to our Jewish civilization. This paper should be published in large quantities for circulation and possibly also be used for the securing of the funds needed.

I further believe that something ought to be done to present the matter of the need of Jewish support of the archaeological work in Palestine and of Jewish participation, not

only to our congregations but to the large givers who may possibly do this on a superb scale.

Rabbi Silverman: I thoroughly enjoyed this paper because I was in Palestine a few years ago. I stood there outside of the wall and saw Dr. Albright in action, with three hundred Arabs, digging into the ground. I saw those Arabs bringing up pailfulls of dirt from the excavations, but no Arab was allowed to turn his pailfull of dirt into the mound of debris until it was thoroughly examined by Dr. Albright and his assistants. They took this dirt and with their hands spread the dirt aside and picked up every shred of pottery or of an ancient cylinder that might have had any archaeological value. I saw them examine these specimens under their microscopes.

I wish to suggest that every member of the Conference should make a journey to Palestine and see for himself these evidences of painstaking archaeological researches that are being carried on there. And the rabbi going there should also visit the Jewish Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, where he will see many of the results of those diggings.

I was very much interested in what Dr.Glueck said about the Arabs being opposed to the excavations under the Mosque of Omar. But Dr. Glueck did not give any reasons why they were opposed. I was in the Mosque of Omar and found out at least one of the reasons. This Mosque is one of the most beautiful in the whole world, and the Moslems claim that the Altar rests upon the original stone on the mountain on which Abraham was supposed to have offered his son Isaac. When I questioned the authenticity of this claim, one of the guides pointed to the stone and said: "See, in the center of the stone is the hole where the blood of the sacrifice was allowed to go through into the earth below."

I turned to my Jewish guide and said, "What do the Jews here think of it?"

He answered, "We laugh at it, but the Moslems publish that as authentic, and that is one of the reasons why they

will not allow any excavations, because an excavation might disprove the claims they put forth."

We ought to be interested in archaeological researches for the reasons stated by Dr. Glueck, and supplemented by Professor Blank and also by the President of the Hebrew Union College, but there is another reason why we should be interested; namely, to expose some of the archaeological fakes that exist in Palestine. There are things shown as antiques which can never be authenticated.

I was shown the supposed tomb of Absalom in a cemetery outside of the walls of Jerusalem. I went into that tomb, but there is nothing connected with it to suggest in the remotest degree that it ever was the tomb of Absalom. Still it is called the Tomb of Absalom and many of the Jews come and pray there, as if it were an ancient shrine.

There are other such places, as for instance, the grave of Rachel, near Bethlehem, upon which Montefiore has erected a large modern tomb. The Jews visit that tomb and regard it as a sacred shrine, and pray there, and they actually believe that under that shrine are buried the remains of Rachel. Such claims cannot be authenticated.

One day my guide asked, "Don't you want to go to the Cave of Machpelah?" I replied, "Yes, if you can assure me that it is the Cave of Machpelah." This Jewish guide, educated and trained by the Zionist Organization, said, "We cannot prove that that is the Cave of Machpelah, but it is held sacred by the Moslems, and no Jew can come within ten feet of it."

Many claim that there are graves of certain ancient martyrs in Palestine, which they cannot prove. I trust that our work in this connection will be taken seriously, because we can establish, as Dr. Morgenstern has pointed out, the records of ancient Judaism. We can also destroy many of the false claims that are set forth to the world by Jews, Arabs, and Christians, claims that lead people to become bigoted devotees of these so-called sacred shrines of the Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians.

There may be some shrines that are worth preserving, but among them there are many that do not deserve the name.

For instance, Jews are worshiping the Wailing Wall in ancient Jerusalem. Now, we are not sure, nor are any of the Jews that pray there sure, that that wall at which they hold their religious services with such great fervor, is the Western Wall of the ancient Temple. If you go there and see it, you will say to yourself: "I doubt whether that is the Western Wall. The Western Wall could not be there on the surface. If it existed at all on that spot, it is buried nearly several hundred feet below." Some day that Western Wall will be excavated and the claim will be found to have been a farce. If we can prove to these Jews that are praying there that they are in error, we will be doing a great service to all the Jews of Palestine.

There is a hue and cry going up now, that the Arabs are seeking to desecrate that Western Wall, and a great deal of dissension is going on in Palestine because of the claim that the Western Wall is a sacred shrine. If it is not a sacred shrine, it cannot be desecrated and all the discussion and dissension will fall to the ground.

Rabbi Calisch: I wish to say a word in connection with Dr. Glueck's comment on the Mogen Dovid, raising the question whether it is a peculiarly Jewish symbol, or whether it was in general use in the Orient. I had an experience that throws light on this point. Some years ago I visited a Buddhist Temple at Hangchow, China. It was called the Temple of the Five Hundred Buddhas. There were five hundred images of Buddha in it—though incidentally one of them was pointed out as the statue of Marco Polo. I was being escorted by a Buddhist priest, and had with me a friend who could talk Chinese. I had noticed the Mogen Dovid used as an ornament in a number of temples in the east, both in Japan and China, and saw it later in India. I asked my friend to question the priest as to its use, whether it was intended as a symbol (as the

crescent or the cross) or whether it was just ornamentation. The priest said that it was a symbol, and gave his interpretation of it—which is quite ingenious and plausible—if not altogether convincing. He said that it is intended to convey the idea of the omnipresence of God; that it comprehends the four points of the compass, north, east, south and west; and in addition, the directions up and down—the six points embracing all possible directions, and thus signifying the ubiquitousness of God; which supports the theory of the general, rather than specifically Jewish, character of the Mogen Dovid.

Rabbi Bernard Heller: I am not going to comment on the lucid presentation of this difficult subject, nor am I going to comment on the critical, the fine critical appraisal of Dr. Glueck of the claims of the archaeologists. I merely rise to ask a question from Dr. Glueck: what implication is there in the discovery of the third wall in regard to the authenticity of the sepulcher?

Secondly: what evidence of uniqueness did he find as a result of these discoveries, what evidence of uniqueness as to the Jewish life in Palestine?

Rabbi Glueck: The discussion, especially that of Dr. Morgenstern, has rightly emphasized the importance of a comprehensive knowledge of the entire background of Palestinian and general Semitic life before we can gain a scientific understanding and appreciation of the culture of the Israelites. Archaeology is contributing much to this understanding.

The question of the authenticity of many of the holy places in Palestine, raised by Rabbi Silverman, need not overly concern us. It is the common experience of the visitor in Palestine to find several places similarly identified. The Tomb of Absalom is not at all the tomb of Absalom, nor does Rachael rest in the Tomb of Rachael. As for the Wailing Wall, however, it is the one holy place in Palestine, which is absolutely authentic. The foundations of the present wall are undoubtedly those erected by Solomon, and are

approximately one hundred feet below the present surface. Warren sank shafts to this depth, and laid bare solid masonry, which have what are apparently Phoenician quarry marks and which he believed went back to the time of Solomon. The present wall, Herodian in character, rests upon foundations placed by Solomon's workmen.

Rabbi Heller's question with regard to the importance of the Third Wall for the site of the Holy Sepulchre raises a difficult and at the present warmly debated problem. The Third Wall was built between 4-44 C. E., a few years after the death of Jesus. The Holy Sepulchre is supposed to be built over the burial place of Jesus, which according to the New Testament was outside the city walls. (John XIX:20, 41, 42; Hebrews XIII, 12). The Third Wall is almost a mile distant from the Holy Sepulchre, which is in about the center of the old city of Jerusalem. It seems questionable that the city grew so tremendously within the few years between the death of Jesus and the reign of Herod Agrippa I, as to have necessitated the building of a wall so comparatively far from the preceding wall. It would seem that the Holy Sepulchre should have been situated much farther out than it is. Further excavations to determine the exact line of the Second Wall are necessary.

The question raised by Rabbi Singer as to whether or not the Mogen Dovid found on the wall of the Synagog at Kapernaum is peculiarly Jewish can, I believe, be rejected. It must be considered purely ornamental. and was adopted as a Jewish symbol in comparatively modern times. It is not mentioned in rabbinical literature.

Will Palestine produce again a unique culture? It certainly was one of the most important factors in the moulding of the Hebrews into Jews. It will, I am certain, exercise a profound influence upon the sensitive group of modern Jews, who have carved out and are continuing to build a new life there. We are confident that the new community in the ancient land will contribute largely to the revival and enrichment of the Jewish spirit.

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MENDELSSOHN'S CHARACTER AND PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

WALTER ROTHMAN

"Wenn man lange nicht denkt, so kann
man am Ende nicht mehr denken."
Lessing an Mendelssohn.
Wolfenbüttel, den 9 Jan. 1771.

The period of enlightenment, with its roots in the seventeenth century and the Renaissance, reached its majority in the eighteenth century. This period, and not the Renaissance or Reformation, is the basis of modern thought. Out of the actual needs of the society of the seventeenth century and upon the basis of the new science, rose a system of thought that guaranteed universal principles for the guidance of society. According to this system there are permanent concepts in the nature of man that everywhere result in the same ideas of justice, economics, esthetics, morality, and religion. These natural tendencies are independent of all cultural change and are a kind of court before which all ideas must be justified.[1] This process of justification is enlightenment. In this natural system we find a worldly culture that had been prepared, it is true, by Humanism and the Reformation in their attempts to shatter the theological, metaphysical system and its counterpart, the ecclesiastical, feudal order of society.

A worldly culture, however, in the sense of a complete freedom from a supernatural world order and a thoroughgoing reformation of society came about in the period of enlightenment. Neither the Renaissance with its aloofness and religious indifference[2] nor the Reformation with

[1]Dilthey, *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation*: See essay, Das natürliche System der Geisteswissenschaften im 17 Yahrhundert.

[2]Burckhardt, Jacob, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italian*, 17 ed. Kröner, p. 468. Wernle, in his *Renaissance und Reformation*, 1912, p. 74, points out how careful we must be when applying the word *irreligious* to the Renaissance generally. A skepticism with regard to providence and immortality was however evident.

its ecclesiastical culture confined to the territorial states were able to transform the social structure. In the one case the unity of ecclesiastical culture remained unshaken; in the other case the new vistas opened up by national cultures were again blocked by the ecclesiastical form. On the other hand the assaults of these two movements upon the predominant culture cannot be underestimated. With the event of the Reformation the unity of Catholicism experienced a schism. And although the way from the Renaissance to the period of enlightenment did not proceed in a straight line, we can pick out certain elements in the Renaissance which entitle us to term this period "Frühaufklärung."[3] The disrespectful attitude toward the authorities and customs of the Middle Ages, the exclusion of fables and wonders from the historical method,[4] and the return to the sources are elements that again appear with an added brusqueness in the period of enlightenment.[5] But while the opposition against ecclesiastical culture had been apparent for a long time,[6] it was only in the period of enlightenment that a systematic opposition occurred. Culture was

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[3]Wernle, Paul, *Renaissance und Reformation*, p. 47.

[4]Fueter, Eduard, *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, 2 ed., p. 12.

[5]In many respects, however, the period of enlightenment differs from the Renaissance. In the Renaissance knowledge was more or less complete and a matter of accepted authority in spite of a few empiricists like Da Vinci and Paracelsus. The collection of facts was not related to a law. In the period of enlightenment the idea of law in nature had permeated human thinking. It is the difference between an aesthetic culture and a culture based on the natural sciences. Another difference was to be found in the practical meaning acquired by the idea of a law in nature. The law discovered in nature is the same law which prevails in society. Thus the natural and reasonable elements become sharply marked off from the historical and positive elements. The world of the "is" and the world of the "ought" are violently contrasted. In such a manner the belief in progress was presumably made legitimate. In the Renaissance we notice, apart from pedagogic literature, hardly any attempt to realize ideals. The idea of a revolution to convert ideals into reality was not thought of. We cannot draw any parallels between a few of the Humanists with their ideas of reform and the entire Renaissance culture. Another important difference was the aristocratic character of the Renaissance and the democratic character of the period of enlightenment. For all of these differences, see the chapter "Von den Schranken der Renaissancekultur." in Wernle's book.

[6]In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries literature began to free itself from the Church.

provided with a natural basis and the center of European politics moved from the south to the north.

There were three currents of thought at work in this natural system: religious ideas, Roman Stoicism, and the new science of nature.[7] Here we are concerned primarily with the entirely new complexion of religion. Ever since the Renaissance the intellectual life of Europe had tended toward a religion free of confessional forms. In fact, since the Crusades attempts were apparent among the educated to abolish religion or to put a critical, purified Christianity (natural religion) in place of Catholicism. Arabic philosophy which had developed the naturalistic side of Aristotelian philosophy was wide-spread. In opposition to the dogma of *creatio ex nihilo,* it taught the eternity of matter which had merely taken on form due to creation, viewed the position of God to the world in a way that contradicted the usual theistic conception, and opposed individual immortality.[8] It was also during the Crusades that the three monotheistic religions came into contact with one another. Those who, as intelligent observers, experienced the struggle of these religions could not withstand the urge of seeking the elements common to all of them. There rose the idea of a universal religion. The chief seat of this view appeared to be the court of Friedrich II in Sicily where the thoughts of the Orient and Occident jostled one another. In the struggle to free religion from the sectarian viewpoint three thoughts were predominant.[9] First there was the esteem in which non-Christian religions were held. Then the trust in a religious reason. And last the personal freedom of belief.

In the very beginning of the humanistic period we find that the religions of classical antiquity were highly thought of. Petrarch had dared to associate the names of Cicero and Augustine, and a hundred years later, Marsilius Ficinus mentions Plato and Paul together. The academy in Florence taught a platonic Christianity and John Colet, the pupil of Ficinus, imparted these religious ideas to Erasmus. The

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[7]Dilthey, *op. cit.*

[8]Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus,* 7 ed., I, p. 153. Von Martin, Alfred, *Coluccio Salutati und das humanistische Lebensideal,* p. 42, footnote 8.

[9]*Die Religionsphilosophie des Herbert von Cherbury;* edited by Heinrich Scholz, Giessen, 1914.

result of these ideas was a humanistic Christianity which ignored dogma and emphasized conduct. God operates in the various religions and philosophies in a like manner, is the thought of this universalistic, ethical theism. The Sermon on the Mount and the wisdom of Plutarch and Seneca were the basis of this new Christianity. The Augustinian dogma of the inferiority of pre-Christian and non-Christian religions and the crude differentiations between Christians and non-Christians were lost sight of. The discoveries of Erasmus and his school which promulgated this reformed Christianity became part of the historical, critical consciousness of the period of enlightenment.

Scholz points out that the trust in a religious reason followed logically from the esteem in which pagan religions were held. If human reason could conceive such truths without revelation, then Augustine's theory of the depravity of religious reason must be wrong, and the supposition of an innate religious reason correct. This view was supported by the fact that in antiquity the Stoics had a similar theory of religion. The Stoics were searching for a criterion that would enable them to distinguish between truth and error in religious matters. They concluded that there are certain universal concepts in the soul that are not derived from life but developed through the contact with experience. These concepts are the criteria of truth. In case of doubt the question can be settled by all men capable of reason.

Through Cicero and Seneca this theory passed into Roman culture and was not lost sight of in the Middle Ages. The two fundamental religious principles according to Cicero and Seneca were the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. Stoic ethics and philosophy of religion were intimately connected. They were both the creations of the same rationalism which, touched by experience, permitted religion and morality to issue from a basic, innate reason.

The theology of the Middle Ages exploited the Stoic law of nature for the purpose of giving its catechism a rational basis. Since Thomas Aquinus theology and morality were divided into rational and supernatural parts. The purpose of the state is to bring about virtue. But the task of educating man for civil virtue does not exhaust the question of morality. He has merely fulfilled his purpose as an earthly being. The natural community based on the Stoic law

of nature is the preface to the ecclesiastical community.[10] In a similar way man may come philosophically to the existence of God and God's omnipotence and goodness. But revelation begins with the mysteries of belief and the superhuman demands of Christian morality. And if the rational truths are likewise revealed, the reason is found in man's fall which dimmed the human intellect.

For Luther the complete uselessness of human reason in religious matters was the correlate to the experience of divine grace. He rejected the scholastic concessions to Stoic rationalism and opposed every connection between reason and revelation. Religion is the participation of God in man and not man in God. It was Melanchthon who mediated between Luther's Christianity and the humanistic idea of religion. He renewed the scholastic, humanistic viewpoint, filling it with the Protestant spirit. According to Melanchthon all men know naturally that an omnipotent Being exists, that He is wise, holy, and just, and the creator of all. Naturally man calls this wise and just master, God. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero have said that such a God exists. How is it, then, that revelation is necessary? The rational knowledge of God, answers Melanchthon, is insufficient. Theology reveals the special truths and facts of the redemption.[11] In addition revelation is necessary for the establishment of rational religion and the conquering of religious doubts.

The reliance on a religious reason was greatly aided by the spirit of the Renaissance. This reliance did not result in a general attack on revelation but in a more or less formal but critical recognition. While, however, for Scholasticism and Melanchthon revelation was the actual religious axiom and religious reason, in spite of recognition, a kind of problem, now religious reason was the fundamental axiom and revelation became problematic.[12] Under the influence, then, of the Renaissance and the Stoic "lumen naturale" scholastic rationalism which believed in revelation developed into a rationalism that was critical of revelation.

The religious wars in the Netherlands and France in the sixteenth

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[10]Windelband, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, 9 and 10 eds., p. 275.

[11]Pünjer, *Geschichte der Christlichen Religionsphilosophie seit der Reformation*, 1880, p. 102.

[12]Scholz, Heinrich, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

century and in England and Germany in the seventeenth century had wearied people with the struggles of the various confessions. There was a longing for peace. The goal was a Christianity free from dogma. The idea of tolerance was intimately bound up with this longing for an undogmatic Christianity. The thought that Christianity should be a religion of peace and love and not a religion of the sword took root.

In the Utopia of Thomas Morus, from the year 1516, all of these motives may be found. This book is, perhaps, the best compendium of humanistic religion. The inhabitants of this imaginary country believe in one infinite Being who reveals himself in the entire world. He looks with love on the one who admires His work. The soul is immortal and destined for happiness because of God's goodness. The religious service is merely reverence in the presence of nature. No one is to be molested because of his religious views. In the beginning of the seventeenth century these religious views were widely spread among the educated classes in France and were designated by them in the latter half of the sixteenth century as Deism or Theism. The reproach of atheism influenced the choice of the words. The scope of that which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was called Deism or Theism was great. It included every kind of rational religion with its presuppositions and consequences. Whenever the belief in the self-enlightenment of religious reason appeared, together with a criticism of dogmas and the Jewish-Christian conception of the history of religion, and all of this in connection with the principle of toleration, one heard in ecclesiastical circles the word Deism applied.[13]

In the period of enlightenment Deism became the philosophy of religion. We find that the attacks on ecclesiastical culture and religion were much sharper although these attacks varied in intensity in England, France, and Germany. It is difficult to bring a movement as varied as the period of enlightenment under a single formula. What lends it a comparatively unified character is the struggle against ecclesiastical supernaturalism as well as a certain unity of the methods employed. The essence of this movement consists in the opposition against the discord between reason and revelation that existed

[13]Scholz, Heinrich, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

until this time and against the practical control of supernatural revelation over life. The tendency of this period is an immanent explanation of the world from the valid principles of knowledge and a rational order of life based on universal, practical purposes.[14] It is quite evident that from such a program there could result only a sober, analytical spirit and a utilitarianism desirous of reform. And while such a spirit was invaluable in the field of the science of religion,[15] it tended more and more to substitute a philosophy of religion for religion.[16]

Nevertheless, the uniform appearance of this period does not exhaust its entire character. Just as in the Renaissance individuals as well as nations achieved characteristic developments in their relation to the common ideal of a worldly culture,[17] so in the "Aufklärung" different paths were followed in England, France, and Germany. In Deism, the philosophy of religion of the eighteenth century, these variations may be easily traced.

In England the revolution of 1688 had promoted free discussion. It created the mood that formed the soil for Deism. The result was an antipathy against a theology which alone could bring salvation and against a fanatical supernaturalism.[18] In liberally ruled England, however, there was a desire for compromise, although occasionally the sharpness of the deistic argument may be clearly noticed.[19] Sen-

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[14]Troeltsch, *Real Encyclopädia*, 3rd ed., article "Aufklärung."

[15]Troeltsch, *Preussische Yahrbücher*, 1903, article "Religionswissenschaft und Theologie des 18 Yahrhunderts." Our age has inherited the scientific concepts created by the philosophy and theology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Especially to be mentioned are the psychological view of religion, a comparative history of religion, the relation of religion to the general view of the universe, and the differentiation between the religion of the Bible and the religion of the church.

[16]For Voltaire Deism was a program of a tolerant religious policy.

[17]Cassirer, *Freiheit und Form*, p. 3.

[18]Troeltsch, *Real Encyclopadie*, 3rd ed., article, "Deism." This antipathy was the driving force in the philosophy of Hobbes. His system culminated in an attack on theological supernaturalism. "All the implements of Rationalism are present, only limited in their use," (dass das ganze Rüstzeug des Rationalismus bei Hobbes schon vorhanden und nur in seiner Anwendung noch beschränkt ist), Lange, *op. cit.* I, p. 245. Properly speaking Hobbes does not belong to the fathers of English Deism.

[19]Zscharnack, Leopold; John Toland's Christianity not mysterious, Giessen, 1908, p. 16. The English national church served to keep

sualism and Mechanism always remained in harmony with a more or less conservative religious attitude. Priestley and Hartley, who developed materialistic theories, supplemented their materialism with theology. The chief principle of Newton's philosophy of nature was the recognition of motion as an inseparable characteristic of matter. The problem of whether this motion came from a transcendent power or was a part of the nature of matter from eternity was solved in the following manner. Every moved body indicates an incorporeal Being who gives motion to matter. This view was generally accepted by English Deism. Locke's theory of knowledge had put an end to innate ideas and based knowledge on sensation and reflection. In morality good and bad were not objective but could be traced back to desire. English Deism did not follow Locke's view of morality. In the assumption of an innate moral sense it proposed an objective criterion. From the combination of an empirical theory of knowledge a mechanistic, teleological metaphysics, historical criticism, and an *a priori* morality, there resulted natural religion.[20] All of these concepts were, however, actually apologetic and merely exploited the new mechanism for the proof of purpose in nature. Spinoza's critique of wonder remained foreign to English thought.

In France these English ideas took root among the pupils of Jesuit schools and in a century and in a country where ecclesiastical, political absolutism held the upper hand. The skepticism of Montaigne and Bayle had created a different atmosphere. In France the view that motion was an inseparable attribute of matter found many adherents. The strict mechanistic conception of the universe was not a mere incidental fact but assumed the chief role. The theory of knowledge changed from empiricism to sensualism. With regard to morality, French materialism accepted Locke but denied the identification of morality and religion. Holbach based morality on the natural law of self-preservation and proved the independence of morality from religion. Historical criticism of religion became of fundamental interest in France. Little by little the original Deism was stripped of its religious ideals. The relation to revelation, the relation to the meta-

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alive the memory of the Catholic hierarchy, thus providing fuel for an anti-hierarchical mood.

[20]Troeltsch, *op. cit.*

physics of Newton and Clarke, and finally the relation to morality[21] were severed. Only the natural explanation of religion and a criticism of the historical basis of Christianity remained. In France, then, the materialistic consequences of English thought were carefully worked out. And it was a radical application of these consequences that formed the character of the idea which Newton, Locke, and Clarke had used conservatively.

In Germany the "Aufklärung" arrived late. Theological culture was too deeply rooted in the small territories to be got rid of with ease. Even in the Germany of the Renaissance the renewal of antiquity was more closely identified with the national elements of freedom and religion than in Italy and France.[22] The language of science was Latin and science itself was subordinate to humanistic scholasticism. And in addition, political reasons had kept Germany from taking part in social progress. There was in German thought a conservative strain that drew it toward England rather than France. Leibniz's thought that mechanism rules unconditionally but is nevertheless there for the sake of fulfilling a purpose, had the same influence on the religious "Aufklärung" of the Germans as Newton had on English Deism. It is curious to note that Hartley's main work was translated into French and German but with a noticeable difference. Both translators found that the book consisted of two heterogeneous parts. The German translator considered the theological part the more important and merely gave an extract of the theory of association. The French translator considered the physiological explanation of the psychical functions more important and left the theological part aside.[23] Before the contact with England there was very little thinking along materialistic lines in Germany. The reason for this is not to be found in the predominance of an idealistic system but was due to the general decline and spiritual exhaustion of the land after the great struggles of the Reformation.[24]. And although in a slight

[21]Troeltsch, *op. cit.*

[22]Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 10. For Ulrich von Hutten the humanistic ideal became identified with his ideal of religious and national freedom.

[23]Lange, *op. cit.*, I, p. 296.

[24]*Ibid*, I, p. 316. Lange points out that materialistic views were present in German thinking before the contact with England. These views had very little influence, however. The most important of the Spinozists was Friedrich Wilhelm Stosch. English influence was

degree materialism had taken root early in Germany, a reaction set in that lasted most of the century. Leibniz's philosophy sought to escape the consequences of materialism. The entire cultural current in Germany in the eighteenth century was not favorable to materialism. All of these influences produced a timorousness in the German "Aufklärung."[25] And it is only in accordance with this distinct character of the German "Aufklärung" that we can understand the personal character of Mendelssohn as well as his teachings.

According to the judgments of his contemporaries the moral character of the man was practically beyond reproach.[26] All who met him testify to his sensitiveness, his modesty, his love of the truth, his honesty. He exerted a beneficial influence on those who came in contact with him. In all of these judgments, however, the uniformity of opinion can cause us to suspect that this agreement springs from a certain limitation. These men saw in Mendelssohn the moral ideal of the age. The characterization of Mendelssohn as the noblest representative of the "Aufklärung" must be understood in the light of the morality of the time. Morality was chiefly concerned with the happiness of man. Already in Leibniz morality aims at true perfection which is nothing else than the highest intellectual development of man. And this intellectual perfection is concerned with man's own well being and the well being of his neighbor. Wisdom and virtue are one. The intellectual "Aufklärung" is identical with moral enlightenment.[27] In an anthropocentric age, however, where metaphys-

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much more important as can be seen from Kortholt's book "de tribus impostoribus magnis," 1860, and the Briefwechsel vom Wesen der Seele."

[25]The theological complexion of the German "Aufklärung" is noticeable in Leibniz and the later Germans. And even the most fearless of these thinkers, Reimarus, assembles all the free currents of the period of enlightenment in this writing for the sake of annihilating the supernatural character of the Bible. Similarly Kant in the essay "Was ist Aufklärung" remarks, "Ich habe den Hauptpunkt der Aufklärung, die des Ausganges der Menschen aus ihrer selbstverschuldeten Unmündigkeit, vorzüglich in Religionssachen gesetzt." And Reimarus did not dare to publish his "Schutzschrift" during his life. Fragments were published later by Lessing in his "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literature."

[26]Berwin, Beate, *Moses Mendelssohn im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen*, Kant-Studien Ergänzungsheft.

[27]This is the reason why the Germans of the eighteenth century felt themselves drawn toward Socrates and why Mendelssohn, who embodied this ideal, was associated with Socrates.

ical truths were either taken for granted or regarded as subtleties, moral ideas were bound to be judged in the light of their influence rather than in regard to their basis. The happiness of man became the goal. The idea that thought itself might involve one in a moral struggle touches a depth that was not probed in this period. Morality was a neighbor's affair that exhausted itself in kindliness and consideration. The fact that thought can have no boundaries requires a courageous morality that was not in harmony with the eudaemonism of the period. From this point of view Mendelssohn was neither a great nor a free spirit. He was only the noble representative of his age.

The flavor of provincialism clings to his morality. Even in unimportant things he reveals a narrow anxiety. From a Herr von Breitenbauch he hears that in Leipzig Lessing has been constantly in the company of actors and actresses and he writes[28] expressing his uneasiness at the thought of such company. He did not realize that the man who without prejudice associated with actors and actresses likewise associated with Jews.

The happiness of mankind was the criterion of his thought. It is quite natural then that with such a standard his thought was of that nature which sought comfort and solace rather than adventure and danger. He did not philosophize in a rarefied atmosphere but remained content within the limits of common sense. In this spirit he recommends a passage in the Morgenstunden to Sophie Becker.[29]

The kindliness of his character, as is often the case with moralists of repute, vanished quite unexpectedly at the contact with thoughts that might prove to be a menace to public happiness. Müchler relates[30] how Mendelssohn came to him noticeably indignant from a visit with Edelmann who, during the course of the conversation, entertained Mendelssohn with insipid ideas of unbelief. Mendelssohn decided never again to associate with such a wretched gossip. Kayserling[31] naively quotes this incident as a proof of Mendelssohn's religiosity. Referring to the same incident in a letter to Lessing, Mendelssohn says of Edelmann, "What an awkward man! I wager that he

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[28]Moses Mendelssohn's *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig, 1844, Vol. V; Mendelssohn an Lessing, Berlin den 7 Dec. 1755.
[29]*Ibid*, Mendelssohn an Sophie Becker, den 27 Dec. 1785.
[30]*Jedidya*, Zweiter Yahrgang, Zweiter Band, 1818-19, p. 240.
[31]Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn*, Leipzig, 1862, p. 144.

has as much lead in his brain as iron on his shoes."[32] Edelmann was one of the boldest free-thinkers in Germany in the first half of the eighteenth century. During his entire life he was persecuted for the sake of his opinions although his enemies left his character untouched.[33] For this reason Mendelssohn's judgment astounds us considerably. It is quite evident that free-thinking disturbed this good man exceedingly. His judgment, keen in many respects, suffered noticeably if thought disregarded the boundaries imposed by common sense.

In commenting on Lessing's play, "Der Freygeist," he writes, "Some of the situations pleased me exceedingly, but I am not satisfied with the title. The reason for so much ungodliness lies in anything but the general character of the free-thinker. You understand that this is no criticism of the development of the character; for who could doubt the poetical possibility of such a character? But the general title causes a shudder."[34] The timid nature of the man shrank at the very word. And another time he writes, "The free-thinker who overthrows a prejudice upon which a useful truth rests commits an unworthy act, but often this unworthy act provides opportunity for the setting up of more permanent pillars in place of decayed superstition."[35] In spite of the advantage that might come from the opinions of the free-thinker, he remains essentially an unworthy man in the eyes of Mendelssohn.

In a letter to the heir of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in which Mendelssohn expresses the extremely liberal statement that biblical writings are for the edification of the heart and not for the instruction of reason, he says, "I despise the petty manner of thinking of the free-thinkers who take a malicious pleasure in disturbing innocency in its contentedness, and with the zealot who does this from a faulty conscience, I have nothing but sympathy. I have the courage therefore to beg Your Highness most respectfully to destroy this letter in order

[32]Gesammelte Schriften, Vol. V., Mendelssohn an Lessing, Berlin, den 19 Nov. 1755.

[33]Grunwald, M., *Spinoza in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1897, p. 83. *Hettner, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 18 ten Yahrhundert*, 4 ed., I, p. 267.

[34]*Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. V., Mendelssohn an Lessing, Berlin, den 2 März, 1757.

[35]Moses Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, edited by Brasch Leipzig, 1881, 2 ed. Vol. II, Betrachtungen über Bonnet's Palingenesie, p. 571.

that some day it might not fall into the hands of a man who could misuse it, or who because of his position feels himself compelled to provoke a controversy."[36] This man was neither bold nor daring in thought. Such considerations can play no part in thought that has a permanent value.

It is quite surprising then that Heine should mention Luther and Mendelssohn together and acclaim Mendelssohn as the destroyer of Jewish catholicism.[37] Nor can Mendelssohn be compared to Spinoza in his philosophic temperament as Zeller thinks.[38] Mendelssohn was not of a philosophic nature in the sense that the truth was the only goal. The desires and wishes of man played an important part. "I take delight at times," he says, "in the thought that everything that would bring the entire human race actual comfort and advantage if it were true, for that very reason has great possibility of being true." The love for truth, a phrase that Mendelssohn uses innumerable times, is limited by wishes and desires. Certainly Mendelssohn cannot even be considered a cousin of Spinoza. And although he mentions the fact that reason should not pass judgments in accordance with our inclinations but according to severe truth,[39] his entire nature is not in harmony with such a procedure. It was above all healthy common sense which was the final criterion.

Common sense and reason are actually identical.[40] The difference is that common sense proceeds quickly whereas reason goes slowly and hesitatingly. At times both common sense and reason may err, but one must be resolute enough to wait at the parting of the ways and not follow either. "As often as my speculation appears to lead me too far from the thoroughfare of common sense, I stand still, and attempt to set myself aright. I go back to the point from which we started and seek to compare my two guides. Experience has taught me that in the most cases the right is accustomed to be on the side of common sense, and reason must speak very definitely in behalf

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[36] *Ibid,* Moses Mendelssohn an den Erbprinzen von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, p. 559.

[37] Heine, *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* II, Elster Edition, 4th printing, Vol. IV.

[38] Zeller, *Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie seit Leibniz,* München, 1873, p. 238.

[39] Mendelssohn's *Schriften,* Brasch, "Morgenstunden," Vol. I, p. 359.

[40] *Ibid,* pp. 325, 341, 371.

of speculation if I am to leave the former and follow the latter."[41] This arbitrary division between reason and speculation and the decision of reason in favor of common sense clearly shows the antipathy of the "Aufklärung" to speculation. And the preference of reason for common sense amounts in the end to the identification of the one with the other. This is the reason why the rationalism of the "Aufklärung" was so unproductive and unimaginative.

Common sense is not as Mendelssohn and the "Aufklärung" maintained the highest degree of thought but the lowest. Wholesome thinking is an instrument perhaps for living but an obstacle to thought. It was only because Mendelssohn so graciously incorporated the contemporary currents of thought into his writings that a flood of panegyrics poured forth from his equally short-sighted admirers. The philosophy of common sense was typical of the German "Aufklärung." And Mendelssohn was of the same opinion as Reid, who looked on extreme opposites in philosophy as errors and thought that the truth was to be found in the middle. "For many years," Mendelssohn says, "I have accepted these opinions, and therefore have attempted to observe a kind of mean between dogmatists and skeptics."[42] Common sense according to Mendelssohn does justice to all opinions and thus prevents a one-sided, morbid development. It is hardly possible to conceive of a more superficial view. The general tendency of the period of enlightenment to identify that which is rational with that which is natural appears here with characteristic shallowness. The thought that reason and common sense are the same is the firmly imbedded belief of the average man.

According to Mendelssohn reason can go astray much easier than common sense and therefore cannot be trusted by the philosopher. "As often as reason remains behind common sense, or deviates from it and is in danger of hitting upon wrong paths, the philosopher himself will not trust his reason and contradict common sense, but rather impose a silence on reason when the effort to lead reason back to the beaten path and arrive at common sense is not successful."[43]

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[41] *Ibid*, p. 371.

[42] Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, Nacherinnerung, Vol. II, p. 531.

[43] "Morgenstunden," p. 370.

Mendelssohn cannot believe that anyone can willingly contradict common sense. Such theories as Idealism,[44] Spinozism, and Skepticism which appear to do this cannot have been earnestly believed in by their followers. These thinkers have merely placed reason on trial in order to see if it keeps pace with common sense.[45] Kant in his essay "Was Heisst: sich im Denken Orientieren?"[46] deals specifically with common sense as a means of orientation and shows how this concept is extremely ambiguous. In some cases it may lead to the deposition of reason or to mere fantastic revery. Common sense cannot be accepted as a standard. He praises Mendelssohn for considering reason the highest criterion of truth but maintains that true "Aufklärung" consists in thinking and not as Mendelssohn thought, in certain facts of knowledge.

Mendelssohn, however, finds refuge in common sense. It caters perhaps with more alacrity to our desires. And it is from this viewpoint that he judges Spinoza. He cannot conceive of a man of such irreproachable character falling a victim to such theories. He fails to see the intimate relation between Spinoza's moral character and the expression of those theories. He does not understand that to think freely is to suffer. The duty of daring to tell all we think involves a morality of far greater depth than the morality of kindliness. In fact between morality and truth there is no other legitimate connection. Mendelssohn naively concludes that Spinoza is not to be confused with the obstinate free spirits. Spinoza has fallen into

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[44]The general characteristics of the "Idealism" referred to in the "Morgenstunden" are sufficient evidence to lead us to suppose that Mendelssohn had Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, the first edition, in mind although the title is not mentioned. Mendelssohn sent a copy of the "Morgenstunden" to Kant and in a letter wrote that he knows "we do not agree in fundamental principles," (An den Herrn Professor Kant in Königsberg, den 16 Oct. 1785). In the preface to the *Morgenstunden*, he remarks that as a result of his sickness he has not been able to read the work of the all destructive (alles zermalmenden) Kant, but that the reports of his friends and the reviews were without doubt thorough. And he continues with the hope that Kant's profoundness "will rebuild with the same spirit with which he has destroyed." Not only does this reveal a complete misunderstanding of the word "Critique" but again shows Mendelssohn's anxiety. See Kant's "Zur Logik und Metaphysik", second edition, edited by Vorländer, Introduction, p. XXIX.

[45]Zeller, p. 338.

[46]In this essay Kant put the Mendelssohn-Jacobi quarrel upon a higher plane.

these ways due to error and not due to wickedness.[47] A true son of the "Aufklärung" in its indifference to metaphysical questions, Mendelssohn cries out, "What have speculative principles in common with the man? Who would not rejoice to have Spinoza for a friend, however much he was a Spinozist."[48] In regard to Jacobi's statement that Spinoza denied the final causes, Mendelssohn says it is "the most audacious statement that has ever come from the mouth of a mortal."[49] And he continues, "When in his speculation the philosopher hits upon such an atrocious assertion, then it is high time, it seems to me, that he should set himself aright, and look around for common sense from which he has digressed so far"[50]

Mendelssohn's tolerance and liberality consisted merely in the belief in certain facts which were indisputably established by Wolff's logic or reason. Man was enlightened if he found himself in agreement with these natural facts, without which he could not be happy. "In what a happy world we would live if all men accepted the holy truths that the best Christians and the best Jews have in common and put them into practice,"[51] he says. The "holy truths" then, are the criteria of enlightenment. Only within the limits of these truths was deviation allowed. It was in accordance, however, with the general spirit of the age to reveal the points of agreement rather than the "controversial points."[52] The dogmatic enlightenment of Mendelssohn is clearly seen when we compare his essay "Ueber die Frage: Was heisst aufklären?" with that of Kant's on the same question. The characteristic timidness prevails in Mendelssohn's essay. The "Aufklärung" of Mendelssohn is the expression of the time. The "Aufklärung" of Kant announces a new period.

There is no doubt that Mendelssohn exerted an influence on his contemporaries. A man fitted out with such social virtues is always attractive. But he could not free himself from the ill effects of eudaemonism. An ethical system that has happiness as a goal is

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[47]Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, "Gespräche," Vol. I, p. 15.
[48]Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, "An die Freunde Lessing's," Vol. I, p. 467.
[49]*Ibid*, p. 490.
[50]*Ibid*, p. 490.
[51]Nacherinnerung, p. 532.
[52]Mendelssohn an Bonnet, den 9 Feb. 1770. A letter from Abbt to Mendelssohn in Nov. 1765 expresses the same idea. Quoted in "Moses Mendelssohn im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen," Berwin, p. 24.

apt to be intolerant of thought that is a "menace" to happiness. As a young man he already expressed the view that to think "correctly" is worthier than to think freely.[53] This attitude never deserted him.

We can easily understand then why Mendelssohn on hearing that Lessing was a Spinozist rushed to the aid of his dead friend. The controversy carried on between Mendelssohn and Jacobi shows the characters of both men in a most unfavorable light.[54] Mendelssohn was painfully grieved at the thought that Lessing, his closest friend for nearly thirty years, had not revealed to him what Jacobi, a stranger, had heard on such short acquaintance.[55] And although Mendelssohn's pertinent questions concerning Lessing's alleged Spinozism[56] are more to the point than Jacobi's criticisms, the controversy was carried on in an extremely petty fashion. Jealousy and envy were evident in Mendelssohn's defense of Lessing. "For I confess," he says, "it would humiliate me exceedingly if our friend Lessing, with whom I have lived for thirty years or more in intimate friendship, with whom I have unceasingly searched for truth, and with whom I continually talked and corresponded about these important things, should not have considered me who loved him so and was so loved by him, worthy of this confidence which another mortal in a few days of friendly association knew how to obtain. I confess my weakness. I know no earthly creature of whom I would not be envious for this privilege."[57]

There is a pathetic note in the friendship of Mendelssohn for Lessing. He longs for the approval of this man. "I am still too shy to publish something without your approval,"[58] he writes. In the admiration for this contemporary of the same age there are tones of jealousy which are noticeable long before the Jacobi controversy.[59]

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[53]Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, "Briefe ueber die Empfindungen," Vorbericht, Vol. II.

[54]*Jacobi's Spinoza-Büchlein*, edited by Fritz Mauthner, München, 1912, Introduction, p. XIV.

[55]Schmidt, Erich, *Lessing*, 4 ed., Vol. II, p. 470.

[56]*An die Freunde Lessing's*, p. 466. Scholz, Heinrich, *Die Hauptschriften zum Pantheismusstreit zwischen Jacobi und Mendelssohn*, Berlin, 1916, Introduction, p. LXVIII.

[57]*An die Freunde Lessing's*, p. 470.

[58]Mendelssohn an Lessing, c. Juni 1761. Also Mendelssohn an Lessing, Berlin den 11 Febr. 1761.

[59]Mendelssohn an Lessing, Berlin den 4 Aug. 1757.
Mendelssohn an Lessing, Berlin den 11 Febr. 1761.

An historical estimation of Lessing is not to be expected from Mendelssohn.[60] As youths they had exchanged the crude forms of their theories. But the one was left far behind. There can be no doubt that Mendelssohn's acuteness caught glimpses of Lessing's free nature. Mendelssohn had written a sermon and sent it together with the translations of some Jewish hymns to Lessing. He writes, "You need not write what you think of this sermon. I can just about imagine."[61] And in the essay, "An die Freunde Lessing's," there are many keen observations on Lessing's character and manner of thinking. Nevertheless Mendelssohn did not understand the rich nature of his life-long friend. He wrote to Lessing in Wolfenbüttel, "You appear to me now to be in a quiet, contented condition that harmonizes infinitely better with my manner of thinking than that ingenious but also somewhat bitter mood that I believed to have noticed in you some years ago. I was not strong enough to overcome the outburst of this mood; but I heartily wished that time and circumstances and your own reason might do it."[62] The life-long friends lived in different worlds.

There is in the philosophy of religion of Mendelssohn a strong reflection of his character. This is not to be understood in the sense that this philosophy of religion is merely the product of his own thoughts. All the currents which have been traced in the introduction appear in his thought in a fashion typical of the age. But in the subjective approach to these problems, the timidity of his nature is evident. And this timidity was in turn an expression of the conservative German "Aufklärung." It has already been pointed out that theological interests ruled exclusively in Germany. This was due, on the one hand, to the fact that the Reformation appeared in no other land with such vitality, and, on the other hand, to the absence of all the other motives which, in England and France, determined the elements of the period of enlightenment. In relation to Reimarus, who represents the freest expression of the theological "Aufklärung." Mendelssohn is conservative. In a letter to Lessing commenting on Reimarus' criticisms of the personalities of the Old Testament, Mendelssohn

[60]Dilthey, *Preussische Yahrbücher*, Vol. 19, p. 119, Berlin 1867. Ueber Gott. Ephr. Lessing.
[61]Mendelssohn an Lessing, den 25 Nov. 1757.
[62]Mendelssohn an Lessing, Hannover den 11 Nov. 1777.

says that we must regard the times in which these men lived.[63] And Lessing answers with much more insight, "To be sure, your remark is well founded, that in the judgment of certain characters and actions one must take into consideration the degree of intelligence and moral feeling which are part of the times in which they occur. But only indeed, with such characters and actions that are supposed to be nothing more than the characters and actions of mere men." And he continues, "But are patriarchs and prophets people to whom we should lower ourselves. On the contrary, they ought to be the most sublime examples of virtue."[64] Lessing expresses in these words the thought that religion must not be a matter of historical belief.

Mendelssohn's philosophy of religion is deistic. Since the diffusion of Wolff's philosophy and English deism the struggle between the various Christian churches and confessions had ceased and another struggle infinitely more important had taken its place, that between philosophy and theology or reason and revelation. In Germany, however, the deistic movement brought forth no new thoughts. In general Deism was nothing more than natural theology which proved the existence of God from the nature of thought or reality, and immortality from the concept of the soul and moral demands. It was what Lessing called "a patchwork of blunderers and half-philosophers." With such a concept of religion it is quite evident that positive religion is placed in the position of justifying itself. The doubts springing from the criticisms of the chief dogmas and from an insight into the questionableness of the claims of revelation, which have already been pointed out, caused people to look for a universal religious truth which would serve as a standard for the claims of revelation. This normal truth was sought for in a metaphysics that would be accessible to all and at the same time would be established by an examination of the means of knowledge. As a matter of fact the whole concept of natural religion was nothing but the scholastic "lex naturae" in which the Stoic theory of knowledge and psychology was contained.[65] Because of the character, then, of this concept Deism developed epistemological and physiological theories as the basis of natural religion.

[63]Mendelssohn an Lessing, Berlin den 29 Nov. 1770.
[64]Lessing an Mendelssohn, Wolfenbüttel den 9 Jan. 1771. Hettner, *op cit.*, second book, p. 49.
[65]Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

Already in Leibniz natural and positive religions were traced back to the difference between necessary and accidental truths. In accordance, then, with this general tendency[66] Mendelssohn prefaces his "Morgenstunden oder Vorlesungen Ueber das Dasein Gottes" with a theory of knowledge.

Like Crusius and Lambert, Mendelssohn recognized that the criterion of truth cannot be found in a formal inner agreement of ideas. Such a criterion would never lead us beyond mere relations. Mendelssohn attempted to draw a distinct boundary between the abstract concept and empirical reality.[67] The usual definition of truth, he says, cannot be accepted because we have only the ideas and not the objects and there is no way of comparing them.[68] Thoughts, he continues, may be observed from two different angles. They are concerned either with that which is conceivable or inconceivable, or that which is real or unreal. The first class consists of concepts, judgments, and syllogisms. Concepts are true when they contain attributes that do not contradict one another.[69] Judgments are true when they do not express any more attributes of the concept than those contained in it.[70] Syllogisms are true when they are based on a correct analysis of the concepts.[71] In so far as we regard our own thoughts as conceivable or inconceivable, their truth consists in the agreement of their attributes among themselves and the conclusions drawn from them. All human knowledge, in so far as it is concerned with this class of thoughts, derives its certainty from the principle of contradiction. Such truths are further characterized by the fact that they are necessary and unchangeable.[72]

"The source of reality therefore is not the principle of contradiction; not everything which does not contradict itself and is therefore thinkable, has for that reason a valid claim to reality; and we have to search for another principle that can define the boundary between reality and unreality with precisely the same distinctness with which the principle of contradiction separates that which is conceivable from that which is inconceivable."[73] The method which

[66]Herbert of Cherbury's intended theory of truth ended in a theory of religion.
[67]Morgenstunden, p. 368.
[68]Ibid, p. 303.
[69]Ibid, p. 303.
[70]Ibid, p. 304.
[71]Ibid, p. 304.
[72]Ibid, p. 305.
[73]Ibid, p. 306.

Mendelssohn adopts in order to ascertain the principle of reality is Descartes' *cogito ergo sum*. Man himself is the first source of his knowledge. Therefore he must begin with himself if he wishes to give an account of that which he knows and does not know.

I am first of all convinced of the reality of my own ideas. I ascribe to them, however, only an ideal reality in so far as they are present in my inner self and are observed by me as changes of my intellectual faculty. Every change, however, presupposes something that is changed. Therefore, I, the subject of these changes, am not merely ideal but real. I am not merely a thought but a thinking being.[74] In addition there is the object of thought. The question of utmost importance is how can we convince ourselves that these things outside of us exist and are more than mere thoughts.[75]

We are inclined, says Mendelssohn, to consider as real that which affects the senses. At times the senses may deceive us. However, the more harmony we find between the senses and among men in regard to an object, the more certain we are of its reality.[76] This is one of the favorite arguments of the common sense school of philosophy. The universality of a concept is one of the formidable proofs of its reality. It is quite evident that common sense, in wishing to avoid the subtleties of metaphysics, falls a prey here to abstraction. It is not the senses themselves that deceive us, however, says Mendelssohn. Incomplete induction is one of the main sources of illusion.[77] Sense perception itself, however, carries with it the utmost certainty. When I see, hear, or feel there is no doubt that these processes actually occur. Such direct knowledge has no need of reason nor can it be misinterpreted by any incorrect use of reason.[78] It is only because the sense perceptions remain entirely divorced from reason that Mendelssohn arrives at such conclusions. The criterion of the truth of sense perceptions is not the sense perceptions themselves. The acknowledgement of the effect of an object upon our sense is expressed in the form of a judgment which alone is evidence enough to convince us that the division between reason and the senses is an abstraction. And the fact that we see the sun revolving around the earth is true not because the senses do not de-

[74]Ibid, p. 306.
[75]Ibid, p. 307.
[76]Ibid, p. 307.
[77]Ibid, p. 321.
[78]Ibid, p. 330.

ceive us but because this actual fact of sight has other criteria which constitute the truth. In other words the explanation of the truth of this fact is not to be found again in the fact but in the criteria to which this fact is subjected. After Hume's investigations, however, Mendelssohn's view was anachronistic. Even the psychological theory of knowledge revealed the weakness of the view that our first sensations carry with them the certainty of outer existence.[79] In the simplest judgment involving existence, there are innumerable logical categories present. But the first source of knowledge according to Mendelssohn is sense perception (*sinnliche* or *anschauende Erkenntnis*[80]).

The second source of knowledge is rational knowledge (*Vernunfterkenntnis*[81]). If we are convinced of the objective reality of an object, we apply all the truths of mathematics and logic. Whatever follows from direct sense perception in accordance with the principle of contradiction is beyond all doubt.[82] We ascribe to the object all of the predicates that belong to its concept and at the same time remove all of the predicates that would in any way be contradictory.[83] In this manner we ascertain truths whose subjects are guaranteed by the senses and whose predicates are determined in accordance with logical truths.

In spite of the recognition of the senses it is quite apparent that this is a sterile logic. The *petitio principii* is evident. The logical law of contradiction is regarded as a constitutive principle of reality which in turn is presupposed. The impossibility of the opposite is the highest criterion of reality. Nevertheless from such arguments we can readily see that the intention of rationalism was to understand the existing world. The aim of rationalism was not to deduce a world which did not actually exist. It imagined, however, that conclusions derived from concepts would agree with reality. The artificial bond between logic and experience is evident. Mendelssohn says that the chasm between possibility and reality is great because we can never explain all the possible constituents of a thing. Human beings can only know existence through experience.[84] An infinite understand-

[79]Cassirer, *Das Erkenntnisproblem*, 3rd ed., Vol. II, p. 529.
[80]Morgenstunden, p. 319, 330.
[81]Ibid, p. 320.
[82]Ibid, p. 331.
[83]Ibid, p. 308.
[84]Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, Ueber die Evidenz, Dritter Abschnitt, Vol. I, p. 82.

ing, on the other hand, can explain all the possible constituents of real things in the clearest manner and, therefore, prove their existence *a priori*.[85] It is clear how the concepts of possibility and unconditional necessity are identical in an infinite understanding. This, then, according to Mendelssohn, is a much higher criterion than experience which can only be accidental. Mendelssohn finally attempts to overcome the difference between thought and experience by deriving the principle of the truths of experience from the highest principle of thought. The goal of rationalism then appears to have been reached. If the principle of sufficient reason which is the highest law of experience, is to be regarded as a truth of reason, then its abrogation must be shown to imply a contradiction.[86] Within Wolff's school the principle of sufficient reason was generally based on the law of contradiction.[87]

These two sources of knowledge, however, are still insufficient. There must be an additional criterion that will enable us to distinguish between our ideas and the content of the ideas. Our ideas and our own existence together with the laws of thought are, subjectively considered, beyond all doubt. In this inner state the concepts follow various rules of order. There is an association of ideas. But if the ideas are independent of us and follow one upon the other according to the laws of nature, we call this an objective association. These ideas presuppose outer objects which are the archetypes of the concepts.[88] The knowledge of these laws of nature is based primarily upon incomplete induction.[89] In the science of reality all knowledge which is not pure reason is based on the agreement of various senses and the frequent succession of phenomena. The principle that allows us to deduce facts from phenomena is the law of probability.[90] This last source is the knowledge of nature (Naturerkenntniss).[91] Absolute certainty with regard to the laws of nature is impossible. How-

[85]Ibid, p. 82.
[86]Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 546.
[87]Ueber die Evidenz. Dritter Abschnitt, p. 79. "Dieser Satz des zureichenden Grundes gründet sich, wie man gesehen, allerdings auf den Satz des Widerspruchs."
[88]Morgenstunden, p. 338.
[89]Ibid.
[90]Ibid, p. 314. See also Mendelssohn's essay, "Ueber die Wahrscheinlichkeit."
[91]Ibid, p. 319.

ever, the degree of certainty increases with the number of observed cases and in the end the difference between absolute certainty and experience is almost indiscernible.[92] These, then, are the sources of the knowledge of finite individual things. The testimony here is that afforded by the senses. Because we cannot begin with the concept of possibility, the truths of experience are exposed to doubts and errors. All error is due to the limitation of knowledge. Mendelssohn, accordingly, proposes the following definition of truth and error. "True is all knowledge, every thought, that is a result of the positive powers of our soul; in so far as it is a result of incapacity, in so far as it has undergone a change owing to the limitations of our positive powers, we call it falsehood . . ."[93] The criteria of this positive capacity of the soul are the three sources which have been enumerated.

The chief defects of Mendelssohn's theory of knowledge are quite apparent. There is a *petitio principii* in his reasoning. The sources which according to him are the criteria of reality actually presuppose reality. While we may correctly maintain that the sensations are an indication of reality, we may with right inquire into the logical conditions of the reality of the sensations themselves. This Mendelssohn did not do. The reason is that he did not extend his investigations beyond the subject-object relationship. The truths of reason and the truths of experience are brought together quite artificially.[94]

And again, the fact that one of the important proofs of reality is based on the succession of phenomena is open to serious criticism. While it is true that we expect things to appear in a certain connection, it is not true that the connection which we experience is the one that guarantees reality. Mendelssohn's differentiation between dream and reality is similar to the argument of Descartes.[95] In a dream the ideas follow some subjective rule. When we are awake, however, the order is objective. Not merely is the reality of the objective order presupposed but his division of the subjective and objective order is false. Both of them are actually subjective and one is not more objective than the other for the reason that dreams themselves

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[92]Ibid, p. 317.
[93]Ibid, p. 320.
[94]Similar to Wolff's division of the "Begriffswissenschaft," and "Erfahrungswissenschaft."
[95]Morgenstunden, p. 345.

may occur according to the law of cause and effect without any interruption, while reality be interrupted.[96] Mendelssohn is correct in maintaining that we expect objective things in a certain order. But the law of probability is not the reason for this order. And if things occurred contrary to expectation, the law of probability would not account for the fact that things must still be in some kind of order merely to be designated as things.

Furthermore, Mendelssohn's definition of the truth as that which is based on a positive intellectual capacity aims at the abrogation of any disparity between the principles of experience and reason and makes formal reason the highest criterion. And while he maintains that the senses do not need reason, he also says that every truth based on the senses should be able to be resolved into a truth of reason.[97] The knowledge obtained through the senses and the knowledge obtained through reason have one source. The word positive which occurs in the definition indicates his actual position and at the same time the unimportant role of the senses. The words positive and conceivable are in the last analysis identical. That which according to the laws of reason cannot be denied is a result of the positive intellectual capacity. The difference between the definition of truth which Mendelssohn rejected in the beginning and his own is slight. With this definition, however, as a kind of measure Mendelssohn seeks to prove the important truths of natural religion or the religion of reason.

According to Mendelssohn there are three methods by which we may proceed from a concept to existence or from the idea of God to the reality of God. The first proof is the cosmological proof that supposes a God because of the reality of the world. The second is likewise cosmological. It concludes from the existence of an individual that God must also exist. These two proofs are *a posteriori*. The third proof is the ontological one which infers the existence of God from the idea of God.

Many philosophers, continues Mendelssohn, have denied the existence of a material world outside of us. And although common sense assures us that a world outside of us exists, these doubts affect

[96]Bauch, Bruno, *Wahrheit, Wert und Wirklichkeit*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 113.
[97]Morgenstunden, p. 426.

the absolute certainty of the first proof.[98] Philosophers have, therefore, preferred the second method. From one's existence as a variable being which is beyond all doubt, one may conclude that there is an unchangeable being. It is evident that because of Mendelssohn's naive division between external objects and inner senses, he ascribes a greater degree of certainty to the inner feelings. But one's own body is in the last analysis likewise an external object. The relation of one's innermost feelings to one's own existence is not the less free from doubt than the relation of the same feelings to "external" objects.

Whoever thinks he is a changeable being is actually one, says Mendelssohn. And the course of time does not affect the content of such knowledge. That is, in the course of time various contradictory judgments may become real.[99] This is similar to the thought that finite things are not necessary because there is no reason for supposing that they could not be otherwise. We can see what confusion the concept of possibility caused in philosophical thinking. Mendelssohn realized that the laws of reason were not sufficient for the explanation of reality. Nevertheless, we saw how, in his theory of knowledge, he finally attempted to make these laws the final criteria. Here he carries out the scheme more completely. Since out of various possibilities, one possibility has become real, the reason is to be found in the will of God who chooses the best of all possibilities. Otherwise, the existence of a finite thing is inconceivable, which is a contradiction. The inadequacy of the principle of contradiction did not cause Mendelssohn to suspect that there might be other logical principles of reality in addition to formal logic. Instead, he proposes God as the explanation of reality and thus is able to maintain the law of contradiction as the ultimate criterion.

Since, Mendelssohn continues, the reason for my own existence or the existence of any individual thing is not to be found in its conceivability but rather in its relative perfection, we must suppose a being who has approved of this finite thing. A choice of the best presupposes a knowledge of the best. And it is likewise certain that this necessary being possesses the faculty of approbation, desire,

[98]Ibid, p. 372.
[99]Ibid, p. 375.

aversion, reason, and will.[100] Without these attributes a choice of the best is inconceivable. God is, therefore, the creator and preserver of the best universe.[101]

Mendelssohn then advances a new *a posteriori* proof for the existence of God. In reality it differs slightly from the proof he has already stated. Because our knowledge is limited, we cannot grasp all the reasons for the existence of a finite thing. Since every finite thing must be completely grasped and understood in order to exist, there must be a being who comprehends it fully. The new proof is accordingly based on the limitation of human knowledge. Actually it contains all the faulty presuppositions of the first proof.

Mendelssohn, then, goes over to the *a priori* proofs of God's existence. In the entire realm of human knowledge this is the only example where we may deduce the reality of a concept from its possibility. He quotes Descartes' proof. In the idea of a necessary being there is contained every conceivable attribute. It would be impossible to speak of a perfect being if one attribute were lacking. This applies above all to the attribute of existence.[102] Leibniz, however, was not satisfied with all the steps of Descartes' argument and considered it necessary to prove first the possibility of the concept.[103] In order to make these arguments still less faulty in the eyes of certain opponents who claim that existence must not be inexplicable, Mendelssohn refers, then, to a proof in his earlier essay, "Ueber die Evidenz."[104]

In this proof Mendelssohn, with some originality, begins with the idea of non-existence. "What does not exist, must either be impossible, or merely possible. In the first case, the inner qualifications must contradict one another, that is: affirm and deny at the same time the same predicate of the same subject; in the last case, however, they will not contain any contradiction, but from these qualifications it will be inconceivable why a thing ought to exist rather than not exist."[105] The existence of such a thing is not part of its

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[100]Ibid, p. 387.
[101]Ibid, p. 391.
[102]Ibid, p. 435.
[103]See also, Fischer, Kuno, *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, third edition, Vol. II.
[104] *Ueber die Evidenz*, p. 75.
[105]Ibid, p. 75.

nature, says Mendelssohn, and must therefore be considered as an accident (modus). An accident is a qualification which does not follow from mere possibility, but whose reality can only be explained from another reality. An accidental existence is, therefore, dependent. This kind of existence cannot be ascribed to the most perfect being because it contradicts the nature of such a being. An independent being is more perfect than a dependent one. The statement that the reality of the most perfect being is accidental clearly contains a contradiction. There remains, then, as far as God is concerned either reality or impossibility. If the concept of the most perfect being contains a contradiction, something must be affirmed or denied at the same time. Every attribute, however, is either a reality or a privation. The former affirms, the latter denies. A contradiction exists when realities and limitations are ascribed to the same thing. Concerning the most perfect being, all realities are affirmed and all limitations denied. Whoever maintains, therefore, that the concept of God contains a contradiction, contradicts himself in that the subject denies all limitations but the predicate implies some. If, however, the concept of God contains nothing contradictory, he must exist.[106] In spite of the new turn that Mendelssohn gives to the ontological argument, the *petitio principii* still remains.

Mendelssohn does not attach as much importance to the physico-theological proof as he does to the ontological and cosmological proofs.[107] This is curious in the face of the important role which this argument played during the eighteenth century.[108] The physico-theological proof showed on the one hand a connection with science and on the other revealed a kind of religious feeling, the feeling of wonder for the works of divine power. It was this proof that added feeling to the barren deistic concept of religion. With such a practical proof, as Mendelssohn himself admits, the emotions of men might be affected. On the one hand, he sees clearly that the arguments from beauty and harmony in the universe lead, as some maintain, only to a wise and benevolent cause but not to a creator.[109] But while the objections

[106]Ibid, p. 76.
[107]Ibid, p. 87.
[108]Kant remarked that this argument deserved the greatest respect.
[109]Ibid, Dritter Abschnitt, p. 88.

to this class of proofs may be overcome, he says, we can at the most deduce only probable inferences. The probability is of the highest, however. But as long as we are not convinced of the existence of God who has purposes in view, we can only suppose that a certain effect is probably the aim of a divine being. On the other hand, it is significant that Mendelssohn attaches less importance to this proof. His nature was not deeply religious.

The second postulate of the religion of reason is freedom. For Mendelssohn as well as for the entire deistic movement moral philosophy and the philosophy of religion gradually flowed into a common channel. The eudaemonistic character of the ethics of this period has already been alluded to. In the fourth section of his essay, "Ueber die Evidenz," Mendelssohn develops his moral philosophy.[110] Ethics may, like mathematics, be divided into a theoretical and a practical part. The former propounds the general rules, the latter teaches their application. The general principles may be ascertained with mathematical certainty. If various things have a similar characteristic, they must likewise have in common the results proceeding from this characteristic. All men, says Mendelssohn, have a common power of judgment, therefore all their judgments of good and bad are based on the same reason. There must be, then, general fundamental rules which serve as the criteria for human action and these rules are laws of nature.[111] The identity of rationality with nature appears here with unmistakable clearness. In order to arrive at these laws we need merely to observe the natures of men and separate the common quality found in all human beings. What have all human desires and wishes, passions and tendencies in common? It is this, that they all aim at the maintenance or improvement of the inner or outer condition of ourselves or others.[112] Even the most base and wicked actions reveal the same purpose, only that in such cases ostensible aims are substituted for true ones. All actions tend toward an apparent or a true perfection. The first universal maxim is, therefore, "Make the inner and outer welfare of yourself and your neighbor in the proper proportion, as complete as you can."[113] If this universal source has once been dis-

[110]"Von der Evidenz in den Anfangsgründen der Sittenlehre," p. 90.
[111]Ibid, p. 91.
[112]Ibid.
[113]Ibid, p. 92.

covered, it is an easy task to deduce from it our duties toward ourselves, our neighbors and God.

This same law of nature may be derived *a priori* from the concept of a being endowed with free will. Such a being may voluntarily choose from several objects, the object which pleases him. The reason for this pleasure is the perfection, the beauty, and order which he sees in the object. The observation of these characteristics gives pleasure, while imperfection, ugliness, and disorder cause displeasure. The first class provides motives which determine a free being in his choice. This is not to be understood in the sense of physical compulsion. Nevertheless, there is inherent in these motives a moral necessity which makes it impossible for a free being to take pleasure in ugliness and disorder.[114] Since no physical compulsion can occur in the case of a free being, only the motives can exert any obligation. This compulsion is, however, a specific kind, namely a moral compulsion.[115] Since every free being is morally compelled to choose according to the most valid motives, he is likewise obligated in his choice to conform to the principles of perfection, beauty, and order. This is the same as saying that a free being is compelled to bring about as much perfection in the world as possible.[116] From this we may deduce the same universal law of nature that has been stated above. This law of nature is likewise the will of God who acts according to the wisest purposes. As often as I make myself or another more perfect, says Mendelssohn, I live according to the great purpose of creation.[117] Our actions are good or bad in so far as they agree with this principle of perfection or with the purposes of God.[118] We can easily see from these statements that religion has no specific character. It has become absorbed by morality and metaphysics. All individual duties and rights, continues Mendelssohn, may thus be deduced from a single universal law of nature. Thus the same certainty which is expected from metaphysics is likewise to be found here. Moral phi-

[114]Ibid, p. 93.

[115]Mendelssohn must be accredited here with the attempt to discover the specific content of morality. "Eine jede Erkenntnisart hat ihren Werth." Ibid, p. 104. In this respect, at least, he accomplished a lasting service. Mendelssohn failed, however, as we shall point out later, to recognize the independence of religion.

[116]Ibid, p. 93.

[117]Ibid, p. 94.

[118]Ibid, p. 95.

losophy is nothing else but "the science of the qualities of a free being, in so far as he has a free will."

The number of problems which Mendelssohn leaves unmentioned in this connection cannot be entered into. In the essay, "Sache Gottes, oder die gerettete Vorsehung," he attempts to get rid of some of the difficulties standing in the way of human freedom, as quickly as possible.[119] For Mendelssohn the entire problem has not yet been freed from certain theological difficulties. God's omniscience and man's freedom still remain to be considered in approaching the problem. However, nothing more is necessary for true freedom than that the idea of the purpose should become the effective cause of any resolution.[120] It is quite evident that when Mendelssohn speaks of subjective motives,[121] and the compulsion of purpose that he regards freedom in the light of an attribute. Freedom is to be found within the empirical realm. He did not realize that freedom is not to be saved by the division between outer and inner motives. The problem cannot be solved psychologically.

The third postulate is the immortality of the soul. In the *Phädon* Mendelssohn attempts the proof of immortality. In spite of the praise of his contemporaries, this book leaves us cold. The mixture of rationalistic and devotional passages wearies us.

The knowledge of truth, says Mendelssohn, is our only wish. But as long as our soul is attached to the body, we can never fulfill this wish completely.[122] We must admit either that we shall never recognize the truth clearly or that we shall know it after our death.[123] Death is only a natural change in the human body. And a change is nothing but the alternation of opposing characteristics which may be found in any one thing.[124] Mendelssohn enumerates four principles of change. First, for every natural change three things are demanded: the state of a changeable thing which ceases; a state that shall take the place of the first; and the middle states of the transition in order that the change may occur gradually and not suddenly. Secondly, whatever is changeable does not exist a moment without actually

[119]Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, Vol. I, p. 534.
[120]Ibid.
[121]Ibid, p. 535.
[122]Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, *Phädon*, Vol. I, p. 174.
[123]Ibid, p. 175.
[124]Ibid, p. 180.

changing. Thirdly, the process of time flows continually and there are no two seconds which are the closest to one another. Fourthly, the succession of changes agrees with the process of time, and is likewise so continuous and uninterrupted that no states could be designated either as the next or as lacking transition."[125]

Life and death are opposite conditions and dying is the transition between life and death. And this great change happens probably to the soul as well as the body.[126] When we say that the soul dies, we must suppose one of two things; either all of its powers and faculties end suddenly or it undergoes gradual changes which flow in a continuous series. In this series there is a period where it is no longer a human soul but has become something else.[127] But perhaps the soul may disappear suddenly. We have already seen, however, that nature cannot bring about any destruction. Nature cannot bridge the chasm between being and non-being.[128] But it is possible, some one objects, for the soul to be destroyed by a deity. From this side we have nothing to fear. God, the all-good, would not bring about such a destruction through a wonder. However, if we suppose that the sudden destruction of the soul is possible, we must ask at what time the soul would disappear. Presumably at the time of death when the body does not need the soul.[129]

We have already seen that there is not a definite moment when we can say an animal is dead. Every state is the effect of the preceding one and the cause of the following state. Therefore, when the death of the body occurs together with the death of the soul, there is no second in which we can say the soul has perished.[130] Its powers have merely become weakened. The last step from existence to non-existence would be a jump which neither has its basis in the nature of any individual thing nor in the entire relationship of things. If the soul exists, it must effect and be affected. This can only occur in the form of concepts because thought, will, and sensations are the only way in which a thinking being may be affected. But since concepts always originate in sensations, how are we to account for sensations when there are no organs? There is only one conclusion. Either

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[125]Ibid, p. 184.
[126]Ibid, p. 185.
[127]Ibid, p. 187.
[128]Ibid, p. 188.
[129]Ibid.
[130]Ibid, p. 189.

the soul must be destroyed or it has concepts after decomposition.[131]

We have already seen that nature cannot destroy. And further more it is only experience that informs us that in this life we cannot think without sense impressions. What is to prevent us, however, from extending experience beyond the boundaries of this life? Imprisoned in this life we wish to find out through our experience what is possible for nature to perform after death. The inexhaustible variety of nature should convince us of the unreasonableness of such conclusions.[132]

These arguments must, however, be bolstered up by additional proofs. Against the argument that the power to think is only an attribute of an entire synthesis and that this attribute would disappear when the synthesis is dissolved, Mendelssohn, in the name of Socrates, proposes the following evidence.[133] In any structure or combination of elements there is a certain order apparent. However, in a combination of things no power can be present in the whole which does not have its basis in the activity of the parts. Nevertheless, in the whole we can notice a harmony which is absent in the individual element. The reason for this is that harmony and order are inconceivable without multiplicity. These concepts imply a comparison of various impressions which constitute a whole. It is, therefore, impossible for them to be attributes of elements.[134] Nevertheless, as we mentioned before, if every individual sound did not affect the ear, harmony would be impossible, although each sound in itself is not harmonious. It is clear, therefore, that the whole cannot be effective unless the parts are effective but that the plus which does not come from the attributes of the parts, is to be looked for in the combination.[135]

If then our faculty to think is not created but the characteristic of a combination of elements, it must result like harmony either from a certain order of the parts or have its origin in the efficacy of the parts. We have pointed out before that harmony is nothing but the order of various sounds. The symmetry of a building is a similar thing. This comparison and juxtaposition of things is nothing but the effect of the faculty of thought and is to found nowhere in

[131]Ibid, p. 191.
[132]Ibid, p. 192.
[133]Ibid, p. 206.
[134]Ibid, p. 207.
[135]Ibid, p. 208.

nature except in a thinking being. And since the origin of a thing cannot be explained from its effects, order, harmony, and symmetry must be results of the reasoning faculty.[136] Therefore the reasoning faculty itself which is the cause of all comparison cannot possibly be found in its own performances but is the presupposition of all parts which are harmonious.

The one doubt which remains to be overcome is that the reasoning faculty might still be considered one of the activities of the whole, as the power of motion which is entirely different from any of the parts but is nevertheless to be found only in the whole. Let us suppose that the soul is a kind of activity of the whole. We have already seen that all the activities of the whole flow out of the powers of the various parts. In a similar manner the parts of the thinking body must have powers from which thinking results.[137] Of what nature are these forces or powers? Do they resemble the reasoning faculty or not? A single syllable, for example, may be heard as well as an entire speech. But the entire speech has meaning whereas the syllable has no meaning. The activity of the whole results from the forces of parts which in no way resemble it. According to our argument, then, the powers of the parts are themselves either imaginative powers and therefore similar to the power of the whole or of an entirely different nature.[138]

If, however, we meet an entirely new element in these parts, it can only come from a thinking being who imagines these powers differently. If thinking were an effect of the whole, then the various parts must, as we stated before, themselves be reasonable faculties. And the parts of these parts, as far as divisibility is conceivable, must likewise be reasonable faculties.[139] We find, however, in our soul an infinite number of concepts, and facts of knowledge. Can these facts be discovered in these various parts of the whole or is there one part that unites all of these facts? The last supposition is the most possible because all of our ideas are so closely connected that they must be inseperably present. We would not be able to think, remember, or compare; even more, we would not be the same person of a moment ago if our concepts were distributed and not intimately connected.[140]

We must assume a simple substance without extension which unites

[136]Ibid, p. 209.
[137]Ibid, p. 211.
[138]Ibid, p. 211.
[139]Ibid, p. 213.
[140]Ibid, p. 213.

all the concepts; otherwise we shall again have divisible parts without the unity of thought. There is then in our body at least a single substance which is neither composed of parts nor extended, but simple and having the imaginative or perceptive faculty.[141] This substance may be called soul. We have noticed in addition that extension and motion, for example, are the ideas of a thinking being of that which is real outside of himself. As far as our knowledge is concerned, then, the thinking being precedes the extended being. We conclude from the reality of our concepts that a thinking being is possible and from this we further suppose the reality of the body and its attributes.[142]

All of the doubts, however, against the immortality of the soul have not been entirely refuted. Will the soul of man after death be conscious of the past and present or will it linger eternally in a condition similar to sleep?[143] All created beings, says Mendelssohn through the mouth of Socrates, who think and will, resemble one another. All have talents which they develop and make more perfect. No one is able to keep from developing the innate abilities of the spirit, such as reason, wit, love of mankind, et cetera. Is it possible that all those qualities of human reason disappear without leaving a trace? In the plan of the allwise God, however, every perfection has continuous results. But this is only true of the perfection of the simple, self-conscious beings who properly may be spoken of as possessing real perfection.

In order to make this clear we must again refer to the difference between that which is simple and that which is composed of various parts. Without reference to simple or thinking beings, aggregate things can have no harmony or beauty. They are unconscious of their existence and incapable of any perfection. These inorganic things are merely there to serve as material for living beings.[144] We see how the eighteenth century misinterpreted Leibniz's idea of purpose. The construction put upon his concept of teleology shows clearly the transition from Leibniz to the "Aufklärung." For Leibniz teleology is objective and universal. Everything contains a purpose within itself and realizes this purpose through the development of its

[141]Ibid, p. 213.
[142]Ibid, p. 216.
[143]Ibid, p. 219.
[144]Ibid, p. 223.

natural tendencies. And the purpose of the entire world is merely the sum of the purposes of all the parts. The "Aufklärung" was too anthropocentric to think so objectively. By purpose it meant the purpose of man. It appeared quite natural that the purpose of things consisted in being useful for human purposes and that the wisdom of God in the arrangement of the world had this usefulness in mind. The confusion of the philosophical principle of inner purposiveness with the principle of usefulness lay, however, in the age. Among these inorganic things, continues Mendelssohn, we find no permanency. Everything appears and disappears in Heraclitian fashion. Since these things are of such a nature, whatever perfection is ascribed to them by thinking beings likewise passes away.[145]

The living part of creation contains two classes, sensual-perceptive natures and thinking natures. Both have this in common: they are permanent and possess an inner perfection.[146] In animals, however, we can notice no continuous progress to a higher plane of perfection. This is a sign that they cannot be the goal of creation. Nevertheless, the spiritual nature that animates these creatures is of infinite duration. If they will ever leave this lower plane and approach that of the higher spirits cannot be said with certainty.[147]

In the case of man all nature combines to make him more perfect. In the social order higher concepts of perfection are formed. Here he arrives at the first true ideas of God and his attributes. The social community widens into the divine community. The great order of causes and effects in nature turns into an order of means and ends. Beauty, harmony, goodness, and consideration which he recognized in the world, he now observes as thoughts of the allwise God who has given them to him to be read in the book of creation in order to educate him to a higher perfection.[148] Virtue alone leads to happiness and we can please the creator in no other way than when we strive for our own happiness. No living, thinking thing can keep from developing his abilities. Thus he approaches perfection. And when will this goal be reached?[149] In all eternity the goal will never be reached. Human striving, therefore, knows no boundaries.

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[145]Ibid, p. 224.
[146]Ibid.
[147]Ibid, p. 226.
[148]Ibid, p. 228.

We may, therefore, suppose with good reason, continues Socrates (or Mendelssohn), that this striving for perfection is the destiny of reasonable beings and therefore the highest aim of creation. We may say that this universe has been created in order that there may be thinking beings who progress from step to step thereby nearing perfection.[150] That suddenly these spirits should remain standing on the way or be thrust into an abyss thereby losing all the fruit of their effort is inconceivable in the plan of the world. Providence has not implanted this desire in us in vain. It can and will be satisfied.[151] Just as we serve the ruler of the world in this life by developing our abilities, we shall likewise continue to practice virtue in a future life under his guidance. To remain standing somewhere along the way would contradict the wisdom and goodness of the creator. The idea of a future destruction is at complete variance with the nature of the soul.

Those who believe furthermore that there is no future life are compelled to deny God's providence. The facts of experience seem often to support this contention. These arguments are answered by Mendelssohn in the stereotyped fashion. Just as storms, earthquakes, and plagues are lost sight of in the perfection of the whole, so in the moral world all temporal defects are to be regarded as moral exercises which are indispensable for happiness.[152] In order to observe the fate of any single man in its proper light, we should be able to view it under the aspect of eternity.

From all of these proofs we may be assured of a future life. The faculty of perception is not a quality of the body but is independent. Its nature is simple and therefore indestructible. The perfection which this simple substance has acquired has, in relation to itself, continuous results and makes this spirit more and more fit to fulfill the purposes of God in nature. The beginning of this spirit is a striving from one step of perfection to another. Its nature is capable of continuous growth. Furthermore as a moral spirit it has a system of duties and rights which would be full of contradictions if it were detained on the road to perfection. In other words the wisdom

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[149]Ibid, p. 229.
[150]Ibid, p. 230.
[151]Ibid, p. 231.
[152]Ibid, p. 239.

and goodness of God would have no meaning if the reasonable spirit striving for perfection were created only for this life. [153]

The arguments which Mendelssohn used for the proof of immortality were the current arguments of the rational psychology of the time. In the "Kritik," Kant showed once and for all the defects of this kind of reasoning. Rational psychology made out of the ego which is nothing but a logical unity, a thinking object or a metaphysical reality. Thus four paralogisms resulted according to the fundamental categorical aspects, namely, "Der Paralogismus der Substanzialität, der der Simplizität, der der Personalität und der des äusseren Verhältnisses."[154] According to the paralogism of substance, that which cannot be used as a predicate of another thing is a substance. The ego cannot be used as such a predicate, therefore I as a thinking being am a substance. In this case the logical meaning of the ego is hypostatized in that the category of substance is applied to the fundamental relation of all thought. Such a thing is impossible because the categories are species of this relation. In the second paralogism the logical unity of the ego is set forth as a simple nature. In the third, the logical unity is looked upon as the identity of the person. Finally the fourth paralogism errs in the same manner as dogmatic or spiritual idealism. It looks upon outer phenomena as only indirectly certain because we are aware of such phenomena through perceptions which presuppose a soul as a perceptive being. The chief failure of rational psychology lies in the fact that logical relations are looked upon as things.[155]

These are the truths of the universal religion, the religion of reason. They are the undeniable truths which are based on the positive faculty of the soul. The theory of knowledge has discovered this positive faculty which in turn was the instrument which aided in the discovery of the metaphysical truths of religion. And if it is possible for a revealed religion to agree with this natural religion, Judaism more than any other religion is capable of such harmonization.[156]

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[153]Ibid, p. 240. In Mendelssohn's essay, Von der Unkörperlichkeit der Seele, practically the same arguments are used as in the Phädon.

[154]Bauch, *Immanuel Kant*, 3rd edition, 1923, p. 278.

[155]*Ibid*, p. 279.

[156]Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, Jerusalem, Vol. II, p. 419. See also the correspondence with the Prince of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in the second volume edited by Brasch where Mendelssohn contends

However, the thought expressed in the letter to the Prince contradicts this view more or less. "Aber Gott sei meiner Seele gnädig! ich kann mir den Grund meiner ewigen Seligkeit unmöglich aus den räthselhaften Träumen Daniels herausziffern, oder aus der erhabenen Poesie eines Propheten herauscommentiren. Diese Schriften sind zur Erweckung des Herzens, aber nicht zur Belehrung des Verstandes geschrieben." In the final analysis only the religion of reason may actually be termed religion. The definition which Mendelssohn gives of Judaism as revealed legislation, however, implies, that apparently a portion of Judaism lies beyond any rational basis and may be understood only through revelation which is an historical fact. Nevertheless, this revealed legislation is not entirely devoid of reason. Its validity lies in the fact that it in no way contradicts reason. At this point some of Mendelssohn's contemporaries, Hamann and Jacobi, noted a contradiction.[157] Unlike English Deism which in its progress gradually destroyed the historical proofs which formed the basis of Christianity or Reimarus, who made natural religion the critical norm for positive religions, Mendelssohn attempted the rationalization of wonder, thus allying himself with the more conservative tendency in German theology. Men like Sack, Spalding, and Jerusalem believed as their English predecessors that revelation, while not an amplification of human reason, is a support. Locke's thought that the content of revelation is rational but the origin supernatural found reception in the German "Aufklärung."

According to Judaism, says Mendelssohn, wonders and extraordinary signs are not proofs for or against the eternal truths of reason. The greatest wonders are incapable of contradicting a logical truth.[158] "Not to fail to recognize God's reign and providence in the smallest events, not to fail to recognize it for the very reason that these things happen according to the customary course of nature, to worship God therefore more in the events of nature than in wonders, this, it seems to

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that the books of the Old Testament harmonize with his philosophical convictions or at least do not contradict them, whereas the books of the New Testament demand a belief which is impossible.

[157]Bamberger, Fritz, *Die Geistige Gestalt Moses Mendelssohns*, 1929, Schriften der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, No. 36.

[158]Mendelssohn's *Schriften*, Brasch, Betrachtungen über Bonnet's Paligenesie, Vol. II, pp. 563, 582.

me, is the greatest perfection of human thinking, the loftiest manner of thinking about God and his reign and providence."[159] Leibniz was the first to formulate this view of religion which was later to play such an important role in the age of Lessing and Herder, the "Humanitätszeitalter." According to Leibniz real religiosity requires no special signs or revelations; for the more universal and necessary the divine nature, the closer this type of religion feels to the divine. All the individual wonders have been reduced to one universal wonder, the wonder of reason itself.

The revelation at Sinai was not a wonder for the purpose of convincing anyone of the eternal truths. It was an historical truth which served as a basis for the legislation of a certain people. Nevertheless, this legislation includes a number of reasonable truths and religious teachings that are so intimately bound together with the legislative portion that they constitute one. Mendelssohn was not willing to divorce historic facts entirely from the necessary truths of reason All of the biblical laws are based upon eternal truths or at least related to them.[160] Actually, says Mendelssohn, everything depends upon the difference between belief and knowledge or religious commands and religious teachings. Human knowledge may be limited to a few fundamental concepts while laws permit of no abbreviation. Every one is fundamental.[161] Nevertheless this division, upon which the definition of Judaism is based, is not strictly maintained. Mendelssohn is not satisfied to sever all connection between belief and knowledge. These historical truths are confirmed by wonder and authority which are sufficient to place them beyond all doubt.[162] These laws were given in a most extraordinary manner, thereby indicating that they are to be regarded as irrevocable. Their purpose is likewise the happiness of the individual as well as the nation. This is also an argument for the reasonableness of the revelation since God has only the happiness of his creatures in view. However, it is not wonder alone that serves as a criterion. If such were the case, any religion might be defended. The mission of Moses was not entirely based on wonder. It has a far more certain basis. The entire nation was present. Thus

[159]Morgenstunden, p. 417.
[160]Ibid, p. 429.
[161]Ibid, p. 433.
[162]Ibid, p. 459.

the legislation itself is the strongest proof of the mission of Moses.[163] Whatever contradicts this historical fact is untrue. Although Mendelssohn uses reason to control wonder, there is no attempt to use reason as a criterion of the truth of the fact. Unless God again appears before the entire nation, no wonder is sufficient to convince us that these laws have been repealed. Other nations may change their laws but God has prescribed these laws for us. In the case of all narrations of wonders which have not occurred so open and obviously, we are inclined to be skeptical.[164] As far as wonder is concerned, the following rule is to be observed, says Mendelssohn. If the wonder contains no obvious sign of incredibility and the thing which is supposed to be confirmed is not only acceptable in itself but harmonizes with the content of the revealed teaching, I am very much inclined to accept it without any further investigation. "I do not shrink from the reproach of credulity if by means of it good may be promoted among men.[165] If, however, the teaching does not agree with reason which is also from God or with the holy writing, then I pay no attention to the wonder.[166]

It is obvious that Mendelssohn's concept of wonder is completely subservient to reason. Whenever it suits the purpose of God, to convince man of a truth, he provides him with the most appropriate means. If it is a necessary truth, man is furnished with a sufficient degree of reason. If it is a law of nature which is to be discovered, he is given the spirit of observation. If an historical truth is to be preserved, the wisdom of God places the reliability of the narrator beyond all doubt.[167] Wonder itself is merely maintained in order to explain the exclusiveness of Jewish legislation. Formerly all other nations were instructed to adhere to the law of nature and the religion of the patriarchs. But since most of them deviated from this in-

[163]Mendelssohn an Bonnet, den 9 Febr. 1770.
Without doubt, Mendelssohn borrowed this argument from the Jewish philosophers. Judah Ha Levi in his Cusari attempts to place the fact of the revelation at Sinai beyond all doubt by maintaining that the accompanying wonders were unmistakable signs of the truth. He realizes, however, that wonders are not always infallible and bases his proof of the divine mission of Moses on the legislation.
[164]Betrachtungen über Bonnet's Palingenesie, p. 584.
[165]Ibid, p. 585.
[166]Ibid.
[167]Ibid, p. 422.

struction, the ceremonial laws of the Jews appear to have among other unfathomable causes, as a secondary aim the purpose of continuously reminding all nations of those eternal truths which should be unforgettable. Here also there is a close relation between reason and wonder. This typical deistic conception of the purity of the original religion and the later historical impurities is used by Mendelssohn to bolster up his belief in the reasonableness of a special revelation. In spite of the fact that Mendelssohn realizes, in a sense, that revelation or wonder are not proofs of the truths of reason, nevertheless the revelation of this legislation is to be accepted absolutely because, among other causes, reason plays an obvious part in it. This is quite different from Lessing's thought that accidental truths of history can never become proofs of the truths of reason.

It is difficult to form an estimate of Mendelssohn's actual position. In spite of the fact that he does not see how those who are born of the house of Jacob can conscientiously exempt themselves from any of the laws,[168] he writes to Bonnet that few people will be able to agree as much about one religion as we shall be able to agree about the fundamental truths when we analyse most of our knowledge. The few points that separate us may, without detriment to the happiness of the human race, remain unmentioned for centuries. If the names of Judaism and Christianity are bound up with these points, they would sound no more hostile than the names Cartesians or Leibnizians.[169] These conflicting opinions are not the result of any hypocrisy in Mendelssohn's character. He was caught in the current of thought of his time which was unable to reconcile positive religion with the religion of reason. The entire age failed to see that what it considered natural was itself an historical abstraction and that the very abstraction was the product of history. All this together with the exclusive rule of theological interests and Mendelssohn's timidity prevented him from arriving at a solution. He writes to Lavater that no friend of truth can boast that his religion is free from harmful human doctrines. Nevertheless, he continues, while it is natural to wish to destroy errors and prejudices, not all of these are of the same degree of harmfulness. Some prevent the happiness of the human race directly. At times, however, some of the opinions of my neighbors

[168] Ibid, p. 465.
[169] Mendelssohn an Bonnet, den 9 Febr., 1770.

which I consider erroneous belong to those theoretical principles that are too far removed from practical affairs to be harmful. Because of their universality they form the basis upon which a nation, that cherishes them, builds its system of morality and justice. Accidentally they have, therefore, become of great importance to this part of the human race. To attack such doctrines publicly because they seem prejudices to us means to plow up the ground without supporting the building in order to see if it is solid. Whoever cares more for the welfare of humanity than for his own fame will restrain his opinion in the case of such prejudices, will guard himself from attacking them in order not to overthrow a moral principle of which he is suspicious before his neighbors have accepted the truth which he desires to put in its place. I can, therefore, he continues, recognize national prejudices and erroneous religious opinions in my neighbors and nevertheless be obliged to keep silent if these errors do not destroy either natural religion or the natural law and are accidentally connected with the promotion of the good.

The timidity of Mendelssohn's nature is certainly obvious. With such a nature one was indeed more fit to close a movement already on the wane than to announce a new one. While it is true that by insisting upon the independence of the various cultural spheres, he foreshadowed the work of the great classical period, his sympathies were entirely with the period that was rapidly nearing its end. It is true that the eighteenth century did away with the concept of the philosophy of religion as dogmatic theology which had existed up to that time. It accomplished this through its attacks on wonder and revelation. But in the place of dogmatic theology it put natural theology. This was actually the substitution of philosophy for religion. The theory of knowledge of the nineteenth century with its foundations in Hume and Kant destroyed this view of the philosophy of religion.[170] With the collapse of the metaphysics of his time the inner core of Mendelssohn's thinking likewise suffered. His importance as a thinker was at an end.

[170]Troeltsch, *Psychologie und Erkenntnistheorie in der Religionswissenschaft*, Tübingen, 1905, p. 5.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Bamberger: In discussing the thoughtful and carefully elaborated paper just read, let me first congratulate Dr. Rothman for *not* having included a string of elementary facts about Mendelssohn's life and works, which members of this Conference may be presumed to know anyhow. Dr. Rothman has shown us Mendelssohn in his relation to his environment, has clearly indicated to what a large extent Mendelssohn was the child of his age, sharing in its virtues and in its limitations.

His estimate of the man seems to me—on the whole—eminently just. The so-called "debunking of history"— meaning the belittling and ridiculing of great and honored men —is a cheap sort of amusement. Dr. Rothman's sober appraisal is not at all in that spirit. Mendelssohn is in many respects an admirable and lovable figure. He may be called great as regards the way in which, laboring under terrific handicaps, physical, social, and economic, he educated himself so splendidly and won for himself well merited respect and fame.

He was also, despite the flaws Dr. Rothman pointed out, a genuine saint in a milieu by no means saintly. His behavior in the Jacobi affair is, I think, comprehensible to anyone who has been deeply devoted to a friend. Reference was made to Mendelssohn's intellectual timidity; and in truth he was no adventurous spirit. But this was only intellectual caution. In human relationships he bore himself with high courage. His behavior in the controversy with Lavater is a pattern of tact, dignity, and manliness; and his famous *Sendschreiben* to the Swiss pastor is to me the most satisfactory and permanently valuable of his writings.

But for all his splendid personal qualities, as a thinker and as a leader of Judaism in a critical epoch, Mendelssohn was not great. His very talent for conciliation, which was such an asset to him in dealing with people, seems to have been a liability in intellectual matters. It per-

mitted him to retain his thought elements, formally and superficially harmonized, that were essentially in contradiction.

Thus, for instance, was Mendelssohn able to reconcile his absolutist orthodox Judaism with the pale rationalistic theism of the Enlightenment. Thus he combined fervid advocacy of free speech and thought with that intolerance of *Freigeisterei* to which Dr. Rothman referred. Again, the famous definition of Judaism as revealed legislation, contained in the second part of *Jerusalem* is a piece of artificial harmonization. In his preface to Menasseh ben Israel's *Vindiciae Judaeorum* Mendelssohn, pleading the cause of tolerance, had attacked the concept of ecclesiastical authority. Critics of this essay argued that its main thesis contradicts the Jewish religion professed by the author. In the first part of *Jerusalem,* therefore, Mendelssohn set forth his position in greater detail; then in the second part, he attempted to answer his critics by showing that Judaism has no dogmas and hence cannot claim to control belief. But his argument, though clever, is forced.

Or again, in the field of exegesis, Mendelssohn, with his love of lucidity, naturally followed the simple mode of interpretation, *peshat.* This method he warmly defends in the preface of his commentary on Kohelet. Yet in the very next paragraph, he undertakes an elaborate justification of the *derash*—showing himself here far more conservative than many medieval authorities—and he even pays his respects briefly to the mystic styles of exegesis, *remez* and *sod.* All four kinds of interpretation, he says, are alike true and divine.

The inconsistencies of Mendelssohn's thought seem to be mirrored in the confusion and contradiction among those who have called themselves his disciples. The extreme assimilationists who accepted baptism, the leaders of neo-Orthodoxy, and the pioneers of Reform have all supposed that they were following in his footsteps. Indeed, through his influence on the founders of the *Meassef,* Mendelssohn even

had a part in the beginnings of that modern Hebrew literature which was later to be the exponent of Jewish nationalism—though this development, of course, he could hardly be expected to have foreseen.

In short, this charming personality, noble character, versatile litterateur and pious Jew was not the great leader for whom the age was calling. He could not control and direct the spiritual destinies of Judaism in his day as Johanan ben Zakkai and Saadyah had done at other critical moments of our history. When Mendelssohn exhorted his coreligionists to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's, to be loyal at once to the land and people of their dwelling-place and to the faith and people into which they were born, he thought he was solving a problem. But he was only stating a problem, which has not yet been adequately solved.

Finally, let me thank the author of the paper for his courtesy, while working under difficulties, in making the paper accessible to me in ample time for the preparation of this discussion.

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MOSES MENDELSSOHN'S IDEALS OF RELIGION AND THEIR RELATION TO REFORM JUDAISM

FELIX A. LEVY

No other prominent Jewish figure of the last two centuries has given rise in the past to a greater variety of opinion about his influence upon Jewish life and thought than has Mendelssohn, and at this moment it is still a bit difficult to assign him to his place in the gallery of Jewish worthies. The reason for this lies in Mendelssohn's system of Judaism, which far from being consistent, is full of contradictions or omissions and often indefinite, so that Mendelssohn can be different things to different people. For example, at some time, every party, reform, conservative, orthodox, or national, has claimed him, at another disclaimed him. He has been hailed as the father of religious liberalism and the founder of neo-nationalism, two erstwhile irreconcilable movements in Jewry, and men as far apart in their Jewish outlook as Smolenskin and Holdheim have bitterly assailed him. And though Mendelssohn, in his own private life, prided himself upon having squared deed and conscience, and so succeeded in impressing his own generation with his example, the first of an enlightened Jew familiar with general European culture, one of the leading German stylists of his generation, he never succeeded in making clear his Jewish position, i. e., how far he was willing to depart from the accepted norms or how close to official orthodoxy he actually was. So while we can readily estimate the value and influence of the work of his contemporaries and near contemporaries, the *Baal Shem,* Geiger, S. R. Hirsch, Isaac Baer Levinson and the Wilner *Gaon,* all of whom inaugurated or followed definite currents of thought and were apostles of certain modes of Jewish life, in the case of Mendelssohn it is much more difficult. We can, however, say that he was primarily interested in modernizing the Jew. What this was more exactly we shall see later.

1. Israel Abrahams, *By-Paths in Hebraic Bookland,* p. 178f. Holdheim, *Mendelssohn and die Denk-und Glaubensfreiheit,* p. 17. Auerbach in *Zeit f. d. Gesch. d. Juden in Deutschl;* Vol. I, p. 10.

Mendelssohn, because of the indefiniteness of his position, could belong to all parties and to none. He was no leader of men and had no desire to launch a new movement within Jewry.[2] Innovation was alien to his nature. His aim was primarily accommodation—not the accommodation of Jewish thought or religion to the dominant currents of speculation of his own day—but accommodation of the Jew to the new state or theory of state found in the political doctrines of Rousseau and his school. The Jewish problem would be solved if equality and citizenship, elemental human rights would be granted to the disenfranchized Jew.[3] Mendelssohn considered himself a philosopher, and he had a Jewish philosophy, yet it scarcely reveals a vigorous or an original mind. The best we can say of him is that he tried very hard to reconcile, in his mode of life, the culture of the day with Judaism, and gave to his coreligionists, as he thought, an example in himself, of how well this could be done, without his yielding any Jewishness to culture, or making a concession to Judaism of any refinement of knowledge or of social amenities; on the other hand, the worst we can believe is that he did not understand Judaism thoroughly, that he had not the courage of his logic, that he was more interested in being permitted to follow his inclination to acquire secular knowledge and make contacts with the intellectually élite of his day than he was in presenting an orderly system of Judaism or in making reforms.[4] He was, however, a great personality, and as around all prominent men there grows up a body of legends, so in the case of Mendelssohn the same myth-making has taken place. The studious hunchbacked Jew was called Socrates, Plato, the third Moses, the greatest Jew of his day; and other equally extravagantly flattering epithets were applied. A soberer judgment soon realized, however, that he was none of these, and today, from the vantage point of a historical perspective of one hundred and fifty years, we can see that outside of Germany, he exerted very slight influence, (a bit in Russia and Poland[5]) and that in his own country he founded no school of thought, though he did anticipate or rather adumbrate some

2. D. M. Dessauer, *Mendelssohn's Reformatarische Bedeutung.*
3. *Schr.* III, 197-202, V, 612, 692.
4. Geiger, *Nachg. Schr.*, p. 224f., 236.
5. Gottlober, *Or Ha-Boker*, (Lublin, 1876) cited by Raisin, *Haskalah Movement*, p. 265.

of the contentions of the later sectarian groups, conservative and liberal.

The foregoing estimate that Mendelssohn was not essentially a religious reformer, let alone a religious thinker, but was primarily occupied in bettering the condition of the Jew by advocacy of political and social remedies, is evident from the four aims that he had for his people, to the attainment of which he devoted his literary life. He wanted the Jews of Germany (incidentally elsewhere) to possess and enjoy culture; he fought for their political emancipation, he desired to Germanize them, (for their own good and that of the fatherland, he believed) and he preached the separation of Church and State. This very program, little material of which was hewn from the Jewish rock, reveals him not as an ardent religious innovator or even as a deep speculator upon matters of faith, but as a cultured gentleman of the eighteenth century, who repeated because he fully believed them, the catchwords current in the philosophical circles of the day, God and Humanity.[6] Mendelssohn was primarily a deist and only secondarily a Jew; he was first of all a rationalist without that mystic tinge, the indispensable requisite of the fervent believer. He was a scrupulous observer but possessed of little inner piety. It is impossible to believe that from a religious household such as his might have been, so much apostasy could have issued. In the above political program of four points, one sees elements that later were espoused by some of the reformers, and made an important part in the program of liberalism, but today one would hardly say that endeavors to fit the Jew politically for modern life or to naturalize him in the countries wherein he dwells, are of the essence of Reform Judaism or even of religiosity.

There is no intention to minimize Mendelssohn's labors. He rendered signal service of a pioneering kind in fighting for the right of Jewish citizenship and in striving to make the Jew at home amid modern culture. It can safely be said that he did more than any other single person in his generation to wake his fellow Jews from their mediaeval slumber and to end their Middle Ages, a quarter of a millenium after the same had closed for western Europe. As

6. cf. Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn;* Brasch, *Moses Mendelssohn,* passim; *J. E.* sub Moses Mendelsohn.

Kohler[7] has noted, he broke the bars of the ghetto, thereby liberating the Jew but not Judaism. Mendelssohn thought that when the Jew stepped out of his dingy quarters into the beautiful world, this would suffice to insure his happiness and well-being. He fondly imagined that what he had succeeded in doing and becoming, every other Jew might also achieve—a combination of Jewish and secular knowledge, of a man of the world and an observant Jew. The glamor of his friendship with Lessing and other luminaries, the plaudits of the admiring crowd, his entrée to the court, his intellectual kingship blinded him to some of the deeper questions and led him to believe, that all would be well with Jew and Judaism, if his own example were followed, and that with the granting of universal equal rights, all that according to the prevalent democratic thought separated him from his Gentile friends, the Messiah would come. It is a nice study to determine how much of the doctrine of the Messianic era, which in Reform supplanted the hope for the advent of a personal Messiah, depends on the liberal social doctrine of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Surely our prayer book reveals clearly how deeply this political re-reading of Messianic hopes in the light of democratic Utopian thought has entered Judaism and for this Mendelssohn, who adopted the current social ideas, (or perhaps adapted them to Judaism or the reverse, if you prefer) is largely responsible. Yet today few serious minded liberals among us hold to any static Messianism. We have rejected not only the Messiah but have interpreted the Era not in the light of the "humanitarianism" of a century ago, but of the philosophy of change applied to our knowledge of social organization and development. Buber and G. B. Levi have pointed this out.[8]

Mendelssohn's lack of profundity was immediately evident to the keen Maimon as it is now to us. Some of the early proponents of our movement hailed political rights as the magic formula, by virtue of which the Jew would become, God only knows what. They could not see that to fit the Jew for citizenship was not all that was required, that his religious outlook, his philosophy, his culture, in short

7. *Theology*, p. 7.
8. cf. Buber's explanation and a recent editorial in *Reform Advocate*, Vol. LXXV, 13. April 18, 1928, p. 316, by Rabbi G. B. Levi.

his soul likewise had to undergo a transformation, similar to that of his "political body." These deeper problems with all that they involved of the justification of religion in general, and of which we are only now becoming aware naturally escaped Mendelssohn, though they did occupy his great contemporary Kant.

Despite the fact that Mendelssohn won away a prize from the father of modern philosophy, he could not even understand what the Critiques of his Koenigsberg colleague were driving at, or how revolutionary they were in the world of thought. Kant insisted on making way for faith even if he had to remove knowledge; Mendelssohn definitely lacked a philosophy of religion; perhaps he needed none; at least he seemed to be oblivious of its necessity, nor did he even dream how his rival attacked and partially solved some of the questions that should have agitated him as a religious thinker. In philosophy as well as in Judaism, he was orthodox, traditionalist, an adherent of the dominant school of Wolff-Leibniz of his day. He was, however, a splendid popularizer[10] of its doctrines. He was in the best and the fullest sense of the term a Jewish *Schoengeist* but hardly *eine grosse Seele.*

He brought his philosophic convictions into his Judaism. That he was a deist and rationalist has already been noted. But these standpoints led him to some strange conclusions, at least from the traditional point of view. As a thoroughgoing deist he denied supernatural revelation of religion, maintaining as a rationalist, that religion rested on reason, or rather that certain truths[11] which religion professed, as for example, the existence of God, (not necessarily the transcendent personal Deity of Theism), the necessity of practicing virtue, the doctrine of reward and punishment in some form, were self evident, which all men instinctively accepted as beyond appeal—hence the name 'natural' in contradistinction to 'revealed' religion. In this regard, he is, to be sure, in the good Jewish company of Maimuni and Ibn Daud, though it must be confessed that these authors and Jehudaha-Levi especially, had what we would today call a psychology of religion. Jewish thinkers nearly always realized that in the domain

9. cf. Maimon's chapter on Mendelssohn in his *Autobiography.*
10. Geiger, *op. cit.*
11. Kayserling, *op. cit.*, p. 364; M. *Schriften,* III, 311, 13, 64.

of faith, sentiment had a place alongside reason, which Mendelssohn, too, recognizes, but of which he makes little, failing completely to recognize how fundamental this is for religion.

If there is no revealed religion but only one of reason, what becomes of the Sinaitic Theophany, upon which Judaism as a historical religion, according to orthodox interpretation, rests? Mendelssohn either because of a too strong instinct of tradition or because he was afraid, could not deny the giving of the Torah by God to Israel, but for him the revelation at Sinai was not one of religion, but of law. The legislation embodied in the Torah already assumes the possession on the part of Israel of 'natural' religion. Mendelssohn was never quite clear (who is?) as to what is meant by religion. Judaism is certainly not a religion in the same sense that Christianity is a religion. What Judaism as a religion is, except a system of laws our author does not state. Unlike some of the later reformers[11A] he did not ever assert definitely that the Jew was different from his neighbor only by virtue of the religion he professed, though this might seem implied except for the following.

Mendelssohn, unlike Spinoza before him, believed that the system of laws which he called Judaism, could be enforced. The Amsterdam Jew has averred that since the Jewish state has disappeared, no power exists which can enforce laws, hence they are obsolete. Holdheim holds the same view. Mendelssohn, contends, however, that only God can abrogate the laws, since He gave them.[12] This is the usual modern conservative view, which recognizing that portions of biblical and talmudic legislation are outdated, yet hesitates to abolish them. Here again we have a gap in the Mendelssohn system. Apparently he thought of Israel as a national entity, with its own folkways, expressed in national statutes and ordinances, yet he took no decided stand for Jewish nationalism focussing all his attention on German nationalism, as did so many later reformers. Among these latter the claim that Judaism was a mere religion and that the Jew was like the non-Jew in every other respect, threatened to become almost a dogma. Mendelssohn never repudiated Jewish nationalism nor did he ever reduce Judaism to religion only.

11a. Views of Montefiore.
12. *Schr.* III, 145, 146, 166.

Out of this doctrine that Judaism is legislation Mendelssohn evoked perhaps more unconsciously than otherwise, the mission ideal, later taken up as a cardinal tenet of liberal Judaism. God having made a covenant with the ancestors that their children should be a kingdom of priests and a peculiar people, their descendants are in honor and in duty bound to realize that promise. As a means to the end to make Israel a pattern people were all the laws given and was Israel hedged in by its legal system. The mission idea is not to express itself in active proselytization, but the presence and existence of Israel constitute its missionary role. Mendelssohn by nature was not of a missionary temperament nor would his philosophy permit it. Like all of his intellectual associates, he was the apostle of tolerance against which any proselytizing would militate. His political convictions, colored by the humanitarian social liberalism and new democratic idealism of the day, with their slogans of equality and citizenship for all, his experience with evangelizing denominationalists made him insist upon freedom of thought and action for all. He was opposed to all uniformity of belief, implicit in the conversion program of the dominant churches. His battles for political recognition of the Jew on par with all other citizens, resulted successfully, for ultimately all that he fought for, citizenship, freedom of conscience, etc., were granted to the Jews of western Europe by the respective states.

One would wish that Mendelssohn had been more explicit in the matter of the mission of Israel. We see in his statement two different trends of thought, one of which by virtue of its emphasis on the missionary element bequeathed to early reform one of its credal articles (though Judah ha-Levi had propounded this idea earlier and it is evident in all of Jewish literature) and the other with its stress that Israel is different from other peoples in what amounts to national polity culminates logically in Zionism or in an interpretation of Judaism that takes the Zionist ideal into account. One can understand why Mendelssohn apart from their admiration for his Hebrew Biur was so generously acclaimed by some of the Maskilim.

Perhaps because Mendelssohn feared that for some of his opinions he might share the fate of Spinoza of being permanently estranged

13. Brasch, II 434-450.

from Jew and Judaism, or because he actually believed that the ban and excommunication were wrong and led to abuses (he had been a victim of it) he maintained that Judaism allowed freedom of thought, a boon which every religion must grant to its adherents, and consequently no religion had the right to coerce men into accepting its dicta or to punish them for refusal to subscribe to its tenets.[14] Mendelssohn, however, was confronted with the fact that Judaism had always practiced Ḥerem. His answer is not as a religion but as a state, the two, church and government being indissolubly united in Jewry. In general Mendelssohn stood for separation of church and state, another article in his political creed, a principle to which Jews in general and reform Jews in particular are committed, (but the grounds are neither religious nor Jewish), yet he did not solve his problem in Judaism satisfactorily, as Margolis[15] has noted. The author of the "Theology of Reform Judaism" writes "from the time that the Mosaic constitution was weakened through the institution of the monarchy, there occurred necessary collisions between the duties of the subject to his native or foreign ruler and that which he owed to God." He (Mendelssohn) is furthermore conscious that such a collision exists in his own time; but he admonishes his co-religionists to fulfil, though at some inconvenience the two sets of obligations. For the Torah cannot be abrogated and the law of the land must be observed.[16] This specter of *Dina d'Malchutha dina* has not yet been laid, nor is the Jew the only one who is torn between two sets of duties. Only the government, according to Mendelssohn, has the right and power to see that its laws are obeyed; so Judaism, in so far as it is legislation, can compel obedience of its laws, but freedom of thought may or may not be infringed upon by government or even by Judaism. Here is a patent inconsistency. Apart from the libertarianism involved Mendelssohn comes close to the position that the Jews are a nation, a stand to which some of his other contentions seem to lead, once rejected by reform, but now at least tolerated and frequently accepted by it. Let us resume our argument from an angle somewhat different from the one from which we have viewed our

14. *Schr.* III, 297, 199, 201, 300.
15. Margolis, *Theology of Reform Judaism*, p. 108.
16. Kayserling, 364ff. *Schr.* III, 311. 13, 164; 319, 312, 348.

subject thus far. Judaism for the man whose two hundredth anniversary we celebrate consists of three parts:[16]

1) Eternal Verities (borrowed from Leibniz who speaks of eternal truths discoverable by reason and requiring no revelation) like God and Providence, without the possession of which men cannot be enlightened or happy. These eternal verities comprise the natural religion of all humanity and are not to be justified by an appeal to the authoritativity of infallible literalness, (cf. Protestant harking back to the Bible), and are capable of, and even show, development.

2) Historical Truths, which are accepted in faith and supported by the authority of history or tradition. The Decalog was given exactly as described. Mendelssohn seemed to lack all historical perspective as well as knowledge of scientific criteria for investigation of past events.

3) Revealed Laws: statutes, rules and ordinances that have meaning and significance, as for example, the ceremonial laws. These are literal commands enjoined from on high upon the children of Israel and must therefore be obeyed. While Judaism insists upon freedom of doctrine, it demands conformity in action. Not only biblical but subsequent legislation, in Mishna, Talmud and Codes, are binding. The Talmud makes a distinction which Mendelssohn fails to recognize between the *ger zedek* and the Jew, the former having to keep the Noachian commands, or the laws of nature which are valid for all mankind, while the latter, in addition to these general precepts, observes all of Jewish legislation. This constitutes the Jewish differential. Mendelssohn likewise did not appreciate that the Talmud notes degrees among precepts, the ethical and the cultural, the light and the weighty. For Mendelssohn the whole vast complex of law, since it is divinely ordained, is equally binding in all its details. His inconsistency in the defense of the ceremonial laws is apparent, when, to Bonnet, he says, they are to distinguish the Jew from other peoples, and to Homberg he writes, they are a bond of unity. In this last statement he anticipates, (though Simon Duran in 1423 and others had already said this)[17] the modern sociological point of view in the interpretation of Judaism, which holds that

17. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, I, p. 147ff. Cohen, *Religion der Reimen Vernurft*, 421ff.

ritual has survival value for the group and contributes to the deepening of group consciousness and the heightening of its distinctiveness. Of the joy of the *mizwah,* associated with its performance, Mendelssohn knows naught, which confirms the impression that he was without deep religiosity.[18]

Mendelssohn's explanation of Judaism as Law and of the binding force of all the mass of ceremonial is surely antithetic to Reform Judaism. Scientific investigation has undermined his position regarding the laws' divine origin, and the early proponents of reform made the distinction between moral and ceremonial laws. Apart however from his assertion about the unalterability of the Law, he misunderstood the whole concept of Torah. As Samuel Hirsch, the philosopher of reform, states, Judaism is not Law but *Lehre,* doctrine. The laws are symbols illustrative of truths confided to Israel and not as Mendelssohn would have it, divinely ordained statutes to promote unity among us and to differentiate us from others. Had Mendelssohn felt that we were, if not absolutely, yet in a measure, a religious group, he never would have made this mistake. The ceremonies may do what he says, but they do more. That they are an expression of an inner religious life never dawned upon him. Hirsch recognizes that some symbols like the Sabbath and Holy days are expressive of the unity of Israel, but the purely Palestinian ceremonies, like the sacrifices, he would abolish because they are no longer vital. Life and not law or custom are the decisive factors. This on the whole is the reform viewpoint though, since the advent of nationalism, we have found that some rites considered obsolete may still have vitality.

It is difficult to get rid of the impression that for Mendelssohn, Judaism was a natural religion plus a definite *corpus* of law with a distinctive ceremonial. Yet according to him we must not think it narrow; it has a universal aspect. As a natural religion it is catholic in scope and appeal, free from all dogma. Judaism does not ask us to believe the impossible or accept the irrational. It is singularly shorn of all *credos.* "There is no dogma in Judaism except the one, that there is no dogma" was Mendelssohn's watchword and consti- Christian sense, (imposed by church council or ecclestiastical organ-

18. Seligmen, *Gesch. der jued. Reformbewegung,* 47.
19. cf. Schecter, *op. cit.;* Graetz, XI 86f. Kayserling, 394. Holdheim, 18f. *Jerusalem,* p. 264ff.

tutes perhaps his sole original contribution to Jewish thought.[19] The correctness or falsity of his position does not concern us now. By this statement he means first of all that Judaism has no dogmas in the ization) upon acceptance of which human salvation depends. The Decalog does not begin with a statement "Thou shalt believe or not believe,[19A] but a simple declarative historical fact of God's deliverance of the Jews from Egypt. Secondly, all that is necessary to the soul's salvation God has implanted in every man's nature, regardless of which people he is a member. Man becomes aware of the truths of salvation instinctively, never by word of spoken revelation or of written Scripture.

It is evident that the "Aufklaerung" philosophy of the day beclouded Mendelssohn's thoughts. In the letters to him of Lavater and in the action of some of the ultra-orthodox rabbis of his time, we note that Jew and Gentile alike sensed the instability of his position. Whatever we may think of Lavater, his was a religious soul,[20] fanatical, and far from the cold rationalism of the second party of the famous controversy; the orthodox rabbis were likewise fervent men and recognized that Judaism as a system of religious thought, and not as a semi-secular nationalism, did have dogmas—or rather fundamental credal articles, found not in deism but in an historic Judaism which warmed the heart. Mendelssohn's contention from the traditional standpoint is nothing short of heretical and while as an apologist he majestically waves all dogmas aside, as a professing Jew, he seems actually to have subscribed to Albo's three *Ikkarim,* Existence of God, Revelation, and Reward and Punishment. The difference between Mendelssohn and the earlier Jewish thinker to whom he seems indebted for much, is that the one derives his dogmas or eternal truths from a general fund, the other gets them from the Jewish treasury. A philosophic examination of these principles which Kant undertook, never seemed to have suggested itself to the Dessauer. It may be urged then, that despite his denials, Mendelssohn accepted unquestioningly some articles of faith—the irreducibles of natural religion.

19a. Graetz, *History,* V, 364.
20. Hatkufa (5689) art. Mendelssohn, 507ff.

These three principles and their corollaries have been accepted by Reform and up to recent date no one has thought of doubting either their truth or investigating their basis. This is perhaps due to the fact that liberal Judaism has had no philosophy of religion or rather no modern philosophers of Judaism, who tell us what liberal Judaism is, not only historically but from the point of view of modern thought. In our prayer books and 'Theologies,' in our confirmation and conversion manuals, Albo's *Ikkarim* seem to be the indispensable minimum of belief that marks the religious Jew. There are however men today within and without our ranks who deny one or more of these propositions and who would not admit that Judaism necessarily implies religious dogmatism—our sociological, cultural, folk-way school on the one hand, our pragmatists, universalists and humanists on the other. This may mean that the reform Jews in these groups have tacitly acquiesced to the Mendelssohn platform and that the essence of reform, following Mendelssohn's insistence upon utter freedom of thought, is not to be found in the changes that we have made, but consists of the right to change, the necessity of repeated transvaluation of values to meet the intellectual demands of every age. The idea of continued progress or development which this involves, which Holdheim applied only to God as continued revelation in history, was inconceivable to the subject of this paper. In other words there is nothing static, not even God himself, for the ultra-reformer, but all is dynamic; no idealistic standards, but rather scientific and empiric criteria are to be applied; nothing supernatural but all natural.

However radical Mendelssohn may seem in the matter of dogma, and we have seen that his deviation from accepted theology lay only in the manner of his getting at fundamental truths rather than in the matter, his attitude toward the Bible was traditional.[21] He seems to have passed over Spinoza's strictures and criticisms.[22] In the Introduction to his translation and commentary to the Pentateuch and Ecclesiastes, he writes, "We, the whole Congregation of Israel, believe that Moses wrote the Torah as it is in our hands today. There has not been a single thing in it changed from that day (on which it was promulgated) to this, nor did it undergo the vicissitudes of a secular

21. Kayserling 386. *Schr.*, V. 673.
22. For Spinoza and Mendelssohn, see Kayserling.

book." Nothing could be farther from the liberal standpoint. The idea of growth and evolution current in the knowledge of the day, as said before, he could not grasp, he confessed in reference to something else in a letter to von Hennings. The temper of his mind was philosophic with a predilection for the *a priori* general truth rather than empiric or scientific, deductive rather than inductive. On a par with his regard for Scripture was his esteem for the Talmud, in which he had his own children instructed. While he condemned *pilpulism,* he nevertheless accepted the whole rabbinic law as God-given in the same manner as did his orthodox opponents of the Pentateuch translation. Since he did not appreciate a philosophy of change, and since all of Jewish legislation was divinely ordained, no one had the right to abrogate the whole or any part of the Law; this could only be done by the same divine fiat, by which it had been imposed. This approaches the present conservative attitude.

His liberalism was only deep enough to give his people a German rendition of and a sane commentary to the Bible according to accepted lights. This no doubt was the forerunner of what later became *Juedische Wissenschaft,* and Mendelssohn, in so far as he stimulated study, which by itself, and through no impetus from him, grew critical, helped along the birth of Reform. His translation likewise contributed much toward making the vernacular of the country the language of the Jew, supplanting the *Juedisch-Deutsch* jargon, and making the Jew like his neighbor in one more aspect. This, too, was not without its impress upon the reform movement.

His attitude toward miracles was consistent with his idea that the Jew was not instructed to believe and that the Bible was legislation rather than religion. Since truths are eternal and natural, you need no other proof and miracles are no evidence of truths. They probably occurred, and the historic fact we may accept, but beyond this they mean nothing so far as revelation of the Divine Will is concerned.[23]

Mendelssohn's chief philosophic religious work was his *Phaedo,* a Socratic dialogue in imitation of Plato, written in a clear, literary German, upon the immortality of the soul.[24] Here he contends with

23. See *J. E.,* opp. loc. cit.

a great show of well-woven argument that death is a natural change of human status, liberating the body from the soul. This incorporeal and indivisible element is eternal and enjoys bliss after it escapes from the earthly prison, progressing to a higher state. It is still a question whether Mendelssohn's ideas of immortality are strictly Jewish, yet his doctrine may be said to have influenced Reform Judaism, as the theology of the Union Prayer Book testifies. The additional paragraph inserted in our Kaddish, the references to the soul's imperishability and its future bliss, the excision of all allusions to resurrection, the doctrine of reward and punishment, may be said to have been inherited from the Phaedo.

To sum up, Mendelssohn was a modern only in externals. Like many a reformer after him, he thought all that was necessary to make the Jew at home in the new world and keep him to Jewishness was an easy synthesis of Jewish tradition and modern culture. Mendelssohn was not a theologian. The works that he wrote on Judaism, especially his *Jerusalem,* were apologies and defenses, in which he tried to show the logic and consistency of his own position. It is perhaps too much, in view of his limitations, to expect from him an ordered exposition of Judaism, or to ask from what amounts to a polemic against the dominant religion, a philosophic-historical groundwork of Judaism. This had to come from succeeding generations and the task is not yet nearly completed. By nature he was no reformer. He did not therefore even recognize the deeper problems involved, that fusion was no solution; that it might be mere superimposition, and might lead to an undervaluation of the Jewish element and an overregard for European factors; that the manner of combining the two was important. Reform itself has not yet made the perfect synthesis, but it is recognizing what Mendelssohn and others did not appreciate, that in assimilation, the Jewish note must stamp the general culture with its own seal, and not general culture give to the Jew a western *savoir faire.* He was correct in recognizing if only vaguely, that Judaism was a civilization or a mode of living, yet in reducing it to mere legislation he overlooked the role of the Jewish religion in Jewish culture. The object of all efforts must be, not to make a cultured gentleman of the Jew, but a Jewish gen-

24. In Schrifter.

tleman, who could not only be a Jew *in* the world but against it, whose Jewish consciousness has sifted and worked over all foreign contributions and stamped them with the peculiarity of his own *psyche,* or that of his people. This the Jews of Babylon did with the mythology of their neighbors, this Philo did with Platonism, and Maimuni with Aristotelianism and we have to do with so-called modern thought and culture. Like Mendelssohn we again have to define our terms, religion and Judaism, and we cannot be governed solely by desire for political rights or thirst for modern knowledge. The Jew can still be a Jew and often is, where there is no toleration, and fails to be one where there is. In our country, we can learn the lesson from Mendelssohn that to make a Jew at home in a non-Jewish world, we must keep him at all costs in Judaism. The last is the chief task of reform, the other incidental and not vice-versa.

Mendelssohn misunderstood religion completely and by making Judaism revelation of legislation he fell wide of the mark. For the reform Jew the Sinaitic event may not be historical, yet God in religion may reveal Himself in man. Not the presence of natural religion which recognizes certain truths as eternal and reasonable, is what we maintain, but recognition of God in our deepest yearnings, in our highest ethical strivings. Religion is a source of knowledge not of rational or eternal truths, but of truths whereby men live higher. These are not the materials of historical or logical knowledge, but of life's value and meaning, and conduce to make man at home in the world.

Mendelssohn stimulated the critical study of Judaism, though he himself did nothing in this line. Out of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* which followed him has come the fact and the principle of change or progress which liberals have adopted as basic. Mendelssohn also unconsciously fostered a nationalism and a separatism with which Reform has not always been in sympathy. His doctrine of immortality has been taken over, while his insistence upon absence of dogma has found scant support, and then only among extreme racialists or ethicists. Yet in this instance Mendelssohn again may have uttered a truth of which he was unaware. Though we may not accept his contention that Judaism is law, it may not be a religion in the general sense of the term. It surely is not mere religion, which

fact even Dr. Kohler states, but it is not the mere nationalism that some would make it. It is both. And while Reform has often stressed the religious aspect at the expense of the national, occasionally going so far even as to deny the latter, it today recognizes the inexpugnable fact of a Jewish people, with all or nearly all involved in this. We realize that if the religion preserves the people, the people likewise preserve and create the faith. As Saadya puts it, our people is only a people by virtue of its Torah. The two elements are securely wedded. Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible prepared the way for a more general study of Sacred Writ and even for prayers in the vernacular. His mission idea was inherited by us, likewise his contention for latitude of interpretation and for abolishment of the ban to be used against the conscientious objector.

Of estheticization of the services, Mendelssohn wrote nothing; of the need of progress he was blissfully unconscious. Of fundamental principles of rehabilitation of Judaism he seems to have had no idea—political equality and Germanization would solve everything. We, following somewhat in the wake of this, have learned that the last have done little so far as Judaism and Jew are concerned; although they may have contributed to our general ease, for Jewish spiritual welfare they have achieved much less than was expected. Salvation for the Jew must come from within and cannot be imposed from without. Change in external status is not reform, a lesson some of us have not yet gotten. Mendelssohn sensed what we are beginning to feel anew, that the Jews are a people, a religious people, with a people's high right to shape its own destiny, to be itself and to be peculiar. A reform that once sought to reduce us to a mere religion must relearn this. Liberal Theology for all faiths is practically the same; philosophically modern religions differ very little among themselves. The Jewish mode of approach to life's problems may be different, the Torah versus a personality, but even this distinction is falling away. Mendelssohn ought to have felt, that Judaism is not unique in being a system of law, but that it is unique in being the creation and the spontaneous expression of the soul of the Jewish people. The Jewish religion is nothing—no dogmas, no revelations, no polity—except the expression of the religious life of the Jewish people—a people with a genius for discovery of spiritual truths. This

expression varies from age to age and every generation has the right and duty to create anew and to reformulate the old. Mendelssohn tried it in his day, perhaps unsuccessfully; we must attempt it now, and since we have more knowledge and more courage, let us hope to carry it to a more favorable issue.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Rauch: I am laboring under unusual difficulties. Ordinarily he who is to discuss so scholarly and able a paper as Dr. Levy has just presented before us is given ample opportunity to study the subject. I have not had this advantage. Dr. Tedesche to whom this task was assigned is not here and at the last moment I was asked to take his place and lead the discussion. I accepted the task with reluctance fully aware that what I may say cannot be more than random observations.

I am in hearty accord with the position taken by Dr. Levy. It is historic and not romantic. It is based on a thoroughgoing study of facts and is not a eulogistic delineation of an idealized Moses Mendelssohn. We are now sufficiently removed in time to be able to pass sober judgment on him and his work and this the paper has done admirably.

It is not detracting from Mendelssohn to say that he was more unique than great. It was a novel thing for a Jew of the Ghetto whose early training was along strictly traditional lines to become absorbed in the general culture of the non-Jewish environment and to master it; and it was even more so for such a Jew to be regarded by non-Jews as a prominent authority on the literature, art and philosophy of the occident. What gave added interest was the staunch loyalty to Judaism that Mendelssohn maintained throughout his life. His prominence and his extraordinary social and cultural connections were not attained at the expense of apostacy nor even at a mild flirting with Christianity. Be-

25. The general literature is so vast that no attempt at bibliography will be made. It is believed the most important works have been cited or quoted.

fore his own people and before the Germans he was the faithful Jew and lived up to all the requirements of orthodox Judaism.

I believe that much of Mendelssohn's early prominence and later influence resulted from the fact that he was taken up by Ephraim Lessing and the intellectual *élite* of Germany. Through Lessing he came in contact not only with the great personalities of the day but with the cultural societies that directed Germany's intellectual life. They were all surprised to find a Jew interested in the things which interested them and they were particularly amazed because he could use the German language accurately, beautifully and with fine literary grace. Even Lessing who knew him so well could not resist referring to him as "the Jew who writes German." Evidently he and the others thought the Jews could only write Yiddish or Hebrew. They all looked upon him as a Jew who was unique. They were fascinated by his brilliancy and they never ceased to be surprised at the discovery that he was at home in the things that they thought they alone knew.

I believe this more than all else gave Mendelssohn a hearing first in the non-Jewish world and then in the Jewish world enjoyed by no Jew before him.

Mendelssohn entertained one great hope and ambition for his people and that was to aid them in the attainment of political freedom. Being a product of the Ghetto he knew its difficulties and disabilities and he wanted to emancipate his brethren from them. This was his conscious and dominant purpose in life. He thought that if the Jewish people did what he did; i. e., if they not only studied Jewish lore but acquainted themselves with the learning of the outer community, made German their vernacular instead of Yiddish that all their political ills would be cured. So he aimed to modernize the Jew and was instrumental in founding the Juedische Freischule in Berlin in 1781 where not only the traditional Jewish things were taught but the sciences, German and French. He was the first to advocate

the political emancipation of the Jews and was responsible for the appearance of Chr. W. Dohm's *Ueber die Buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden.* Throughout his life he pleaded for his people's political emancipation. This seventeen century old pent up hope of Israel to be politically free was voiced by Mendelssohn on every opportunity and his service in this field was of incalculable value toward Jewish emancipation. He made of it a living issue and a much discussed question in his generation. Of single service this is undoubtedly the greatest he rendered to Jews.

All else that he did was secondary, even his rich output on religious questions. It cannot be stated too emphatically that his concern was with Jews and not with Judaism. The latter really presented no problem to him. He took it for granted as did the Jews of his day. It offered no difficulty for him. I doubt if he would have devoted as much time to it as he did if the question of religion had not been forced on him. Religion was much discussed by Lessing, Lavater and the circles in which he moved and he had to participate in it. But it was not a problem that disturbed him. He was content with the Judaism he inherited, that is Talmudic and *Shulḥan Aruch* Judaism. He never felt the need of explaining Judaism either to himself or to Jews. His writings in this field were for the non-Jewish world. To regard him as the forerunner or founder of the Reform movement is far fetched. He was not even remotely aware of the theological problems that produced the Reform movement. Dr. Levy has made all this so clear and proved it so conclusively that to dwell on it in the discussion would be unnecessary repetition.

As time goes on we shall find that Reform Judaism had its origin in men other than Mendelssohn and in philosophies and a theology of which he did not dream. But to him we are indebted for awakening the Jew to an interest in the world outside the Ghetto and to quickening the conscience of Germany and through Germany that of the western world towards those political reforms which in years later brought about political emancipation for our people.

H

THE FRIENDSHIP OF LESSING AND MENDELSSOHN IN RELATION TO THE GOOD-WILL MOVEMENT BETWEEN CHRISTIAN AND JEW

LOUIS J. KOPALD

A friendship which transcended religion and race. A friendship which spurned the barriers of personal background and social heritage. A friendship which negated prejudice and challenged humanity. A friendship without motive but motivated by the impulse of human kindness. Such was the friendship of Lessing the Christian and Mendelssohn the Jew. It scorned mere Tolerence. It was the apostle of Good Will.

That this inter-religious friendship between the "German Socrates," as the world called Mendelssohn, and the "Don Quixote of learning," as Lessing once called himself, was the recipe for a new relationship between Christian and Jew, is understandable only when we view it in its background. Like Locke and Bayle, Hume and Leibnitz, Voltaire and Tom Paine, Mendelssohn and Lessing were in a sense identified with that intellectual movement of eighteenth-century Europe known as the Enlightenment (Aufklaerung). But the Enlightenment, with its dethronement of the authority of tradition and its worship at the insecure throne of reason, its blind faith in nature and its static philosophy, was theoretically one-sided and in marked degree spiritually sterile; and though it served the cause of the emancipation of the human spirit, though it emphasized a freedom of thought and belief which flowered in a kind of toleration, it failed to satisfy the spirits of these two friends for whom sentiment and religion still retained something of their powerful appeal. Though they shared the intellectual independence of other exponents of the Enlightenment, they were intrigued neither by the empiricism of the English school, the sensualism of the French nor the ultra-rationalism of the German: for their spirit leaped beyond their generation. Neither altogether dogmatic nor in the case of Lessing deistic, they were both, in the

realest sense, loyal religionists. They saw beyond the "natural rights" of the Enlightenment into the sphere of divine duties. Unlike others of the period who broke with the past and felt no need of a future, they saw men "rising on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things." Lessing, in particular, conceived of "the education of the human race" as a matter of evolution. His one hundred paragraphs under that title are perhaps the first primer on the development of religions and the development of the human race through the development of religion—a new philosophy of revelation and religion. The core of its thesis is this: that every religion has its divinely-chosen time to fulfill a human need to which it is attuned with perfect psychological and pedagogical exactness. Thus no religion or creed may be looked upon as a final revelation, but every historical religion has shared the responsibility of the spiritual progress of mankind—the theme elaborated later in "Nathan the Wise." "This theory of development," in the words of Professor Fiske, "cuts away every possible logical basis for intolerance." Lessing was thus the connecting link, in both a literary and human sense, between the groping, half-measured, eighteenth-century Toleration, legally established by Frederick the Great in Germany and Joseph the Second in Austria, and the century of growing Tolerance which followed: a tolerance of the spirit as against the toleration of law. While a type of Liberalism, really a pseudo-liberalism, was the flippant fad of the courts of Frederick and Joseph, Lessing and Mendelssohn were living the example of a liberalism that expressed itself in good-will.

How noteworthy this "sacred legacy of Lessing," in Mommsen's phrase, can be guaged when we recall the general condition of German life and culture at the time and the status of German Jewry in particular. As a contrasting picture perhaps nothing illustrates the tremendous significance of Lessing's service better than the reception given Mendelssohn's immortal book on the immortality of the soul, the "Phaedon." On the one hand the eager reaction to higher things with which the German people, as indeed all Europe, responded to the high hopefulness and the spiritual serenity of a work which came from the pen of even a Jew, evidences better than volumes the moral and cultural depths to which Germany had descended after the Hundred Years' War, depths from which she was only slowly and par-

tially recovering; on the other hand the eagerness, and no doubt curiosity, with which on the appearance of "Phaedon" men sought to visit one who to them was an anomaly—the "Jew with the Socratic soul," as Lavater described Mendelssohn, "the young Hebrew who wrote in German," indicates only too well the contrastingly current Christian attitude toward the Jew to whom the poll-taxed Jewish liberal, Moses Dessau, was regarded as the exception. The principle that a nation's level of progress is coterminous with her treatment of her Jews, seems thus to be given perfect support by eighteenth-century Germany and German Jewry. The "free-thinking" of the then "enlightened" Germany served neither to recognize the "natural rights" nor to lessen the legal disabilities of the Jew. Though one of Frederick's first acts was the issuance of a Proclamation of Universal Toleration, his "tolerance" in the case of the Jew was sheer cruelty. To support his new porcelain factory every Jew at marriage had to purchase three hundred thalers worth of china! It is one of the pathetic comedies of history that the porcelain monkeys which were forced upon Mendelssohn are now treasured as precious heirlooms. The Jews were denied citizenship or equality of rights. Openly insulted, sometimes stoned, their children taunted on the streets, with poll-taxes, as they entered and left a city, which classified them as so much chattel—such was the effect of Frederick's act of tolerance! And concomitantly we find German life and literature, in the words of DeQuincey, "sunk in meanness and barbarism." The genius of Germany lay dead. In the time of Lessing and Mendelssohn, then, German idealism was at a low ebb, while justice to the Jew simply did not exist.

That the name of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing is said to be perhaps more sacred than any other to the best spirits of modern Germany; that he has been called the "restorer and father of German literature," "the great liberator of the German mind," the regenerator of the German spirit—this is the deserved tribute which time has been paying increasingly during these two hundred years to one who, more than any other, awakened in the German people a sense of its potential greatness, who was a pioneer in plumbing the resources of the German national genius, who sought to develop a unified German culture by the eradication of all prejudices, who preached an epochal

gospel of liberalism, fellowship, better understanding, good-will. It was Lessing the German, together with Mendelssohn, who inspired his countrymen to appreciate and to express German individuality in the German tongue, even as Mendelssohn opened the treasures of the German language and literature to his fellow-Jews. It was Lessing, the German litterateur, who put an end to the dominance of the French language and literature and stage in Berlin, a prestige which meant the imitation of French literary models and the production at court of a French play every Wednesday night; a French dictatorship to which Frederick the Great was party to such degree that his court wrote French, the Academy wrote Latin, while German, to quote another, remained "the language of horses." It was Lessing, the litterateur, who wrote three noble plays, a comedy, a tragedy and a dramatic poem, which inaugurated the golden age of German literature and bequeathed to it a classical style; who blazed the trail for that complex and creative literary movement which culminated in Goethe and Schiller. It was Lessing, "king of modern critics," who applied philosophy to criticism and the fine arts and whose famous "Laocoon" and other works endowed aesthetics with a place in modern German philosophy which the influence of neither Kant nor Schilling, Hegel nor Schopenhauer has given it. But the leadership of Lessing was not limited to literature. He was a pioneer in many directions, not least the things of the spirit. Great was Lessing as a man of letters; but far greater as a man. And as his service to German culture is well-nigh supreme, so also his service to humanity is in a sense unique.

For it was Lessing the man, the lover of mankind, who in his century was pioneer protagonist of Justice, of Truth, of Tolerance, of a broad Humanity. His personality was unified, his very protoplasm pervasive of his principles. Rolleston, one of his noteworthy biographers, says that there is not a manlier character to be found anywhere in the whole history of literature. He hated sham—and he fought it avidly. He whose primary life-interest was the service of his fellows in whatever direction they needed help, appeared most frequently in the rôle of disputant, for controversy was his sword with which to battle for justice and truth. And these he pursued with a free spirit—a more consistently and sympathetically free spirit man has never possessed. He was uncompromising for the right; yet

ductile in sympathy. Two or three times he refused university professorships in archaeology and literature because his chief interest was in the laboratory of life. To him "sympathy" was not just an attitude. Loyal, as we shall find later, to the true meaning of Liberalism, he lived the original implications of sympathy—i. e., he "suffered with" his fellows. This breadth of human concern, this utter independence in search of the just and the true therefore characterized his literary output as well as his own life from his searching university days at Leipzig to his librarian's death in Brunswick. For this reason we find what superficially seem strange polarities in his pioneering. If he was poet and dramatist, he was also learned antiquarian and theologian. If he was the first true critic of the drama, he was also one of the fathers of biblical criticism, his "New Hypothesis" of the synoptic gospels versus that of St. John helping to inaugurate the later science of the origins of the canon. This catholicity of interest resulted from two factors—the width and profundity of his learning and the unification of his personality. For he looked at life as a whole. All experience to him was originally and ultimately a unit. Every thing, every idea had its own place in this unified whole: a principle which influenced every phase of his writing. Thus his viewpoint was that of a modern evolutionist. Thus he evaluated all experience, and therefore all religions, objectively and yet sympathetically, critically and yet reverently, with an eye and ear only for truth and yet not blind nor deaf to the reality of sentiment and mysticism. Thus he differentiated between theology and religion; between the forms, the symbols, the externals of churchism and the spirit, the soul, the purpose of divine revelation. Thus finally he became the "high-priest of tolerance," as Emil G. Hirsch once said: of every variety of tolerance, therefore of religious tolerance.

The moving friendship between these two liberals, Lessing and Mendelssohn, is therefore not surprising. The man and Christian who at the age of twenty-two wrote "The Freethinkers" ("Freigeist"), an exposé of the bigotry of the faddistic free-thinking of the day, which held priests in contempt merely because they were priests; "The Jews" ("Die Juden"), his first plea for religious tolerance through better understanding of the true character and the potential character of the Jew; "Miss Sara Sampson," the first tragedy of the

German common people to be written and produced in the German language—the man and Christian who later on wrote the famous "Defenses" ("Rettungen") in vindication of the character of various authors, from Horace to Cardanus and other writers of the Reformation period, who in Lessing's judgment had been misunderstood or malinged; who published the even more famous "Fragments" from the Wolfenbuettel Library, an anonymous publication of a work of Professor Reimarus attacking the accepted Christian positions on Revelation, Immortality, Resurrection, etc., a work with which in large part Lessing did not agree and to which he added fifty-three "Objections," but the publication of which was elemental to his liberalism; and who finally gave to the world the yet more famous "Nathan the Wise," perhaps the most exalted and convincing appeal for true religion, breadth of sympathy, tolerance, better understanding and good-will which the human pen has produced—this man and Christian might be expected to have sensed and appreciated and cherished in Moses Mendelssohn a kindred spirit, a kindred champion of Justice and Truth, a kindred liberal, a kindred servant of mankind. Such a Christian might be expected to have befriended the ghettoized but serene-souled Jew. Such a Christian liberal might be expected to have found in this Jewish liberal the closest friend of his life. Such a Christian might be expected to have found with such a Jew that identity of human interest, social responsibility and moral idealism which is inherent in all religions, which is the common denominator among all religions, which should unite in a spiritual bond the adherents of all religions, which should throttle the hyena of prejudice and crush the hybrid of intolerance, and which above all should make for better understanding and good-will. The friendship of Lessing and Mendelssohn proved once for all that the true Liberal inevitably is an exponent of Good Will.

For though the world of thought be caught in a morass of doubt as to definitions, Lessing and Mendelssohn have given us the supreme example of the true liberal. A Professor Pratt of Williams may decry the fact that there seem to be as many varieties of religious liberals as there are schools of philosophy, and in equal conflict, but the author of "Nathan the Wise" and the author of "Jerusalem" have shown us this: that ultimately the real test of Liberalism is Fraternalism.

In other words true liberalism involves not mere conviction or affirmation; it demands action. By fraternalism, however, I do not mean social contacts but only that which contributes to the growing brotherhood of man. And since there are many ways in which we contribute to the growing brotherhood of man, there are resultantly many types of liberal expression. Therefore we find among us today liberals and liberals and liberals: a situation perfectly explicable and which I think would seem plausible to Professor Pratt did he approach the problem in this way. For from the year 313, when Constantine and Lucinius issued the edict of Milan, the first proclamation of absolute religious liberty announced by a civil government; through the centuries in which we find, e. g. in the seventeenth, Roger Williams' plea for tolerance in his "Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience" and Locke's "Letter of Toleration," down to the nineteenth in which appeared John Stuart Mill's argument for the utilitarian principle of tolerance ("On Liberty"), the results of tolerance have been largely negative simply because Liberalism was, to a very marked degree, academic and not active. Academic Liberalism I define as the recognition of the principle of religious liberty or the right of each man to his own point of view. But active Liberalism goes far beyond the mere recognition of principles—it takes the next and the next steps in Fraternalism. Therefore through the long centuries academic liberalism has been the bed-fellow of mere tolerance. Now tolerance, notwithstanding the high place the word has had in our lives and literature, has been, like academic liberalism, broadly speaking, psychologically harmful and definitely limited in results. To know the right and to fail to act upon that knowledge is morally damaging. This has been the career of academic liberalism and its twin-sister tolerance. We must not be surprised, therefore, that, concomitant with the Edict of Milan in favor of religious liberty, came "the enthronement and dominion of intolerance" under Constantine, with the persecution of Jews, pagans and heretics. Nor should we be surprised that, for example, Luther pleaded for Religious Liberalism with great earnestness and yet, when face to face with religious radicalism, became party to drastic and unsparing measures of repression; and that Frederick the Great issued the famous Proclamation of Universal Toleration and yet visited humiliation upon humil-

iation on the hapless Jew, a stigma on Frederick no less deep than his complete failure to appreciate Lessing the Liberal. For mere Tolerance is a negative principle—and, like many negative principles, does positive damage. We are not surprised then that for generations there have been those who believed that only the religiously indifferent can be tolerant, that sincere religious conviction and intolerance are axiomatic: that a man cannot earnestly hold his own religious position without viewing another's position as an infringement upon his own! Thus it has been asserted that the monotheistic religions necessarily are intellectually intolerant, while polytheism has been tolerant. Lavater, Christian preacher of Zurich, friend of and chess-player with Mendelssohn, proved this to be true of the pseudo-liberal when, because of the liberal views concerning Jesus expressed by the Jewish philosopher, Lavater tried to convert Mendelssohn to Christianity. But we know better today. An historico-philosophical analysis of Liberalism shows us that the very opposite is true: that the highest expression of true tolerance not only is possible to but inherent in loyalty to one's religion. Indeed to the degree to which a man is truly loyal to the meaning of his own faith, to that degree is he likely to be tolerant of another's faith. This, indeed, is why and how we find increasing numbers of Catholics—communicants of a religion outstandingly orthodox—who are true Liberals, who prove our definition of Fraternalism as the only test of true Liberalism. Thus we find outstanding Catholic leaders who are sponsors of better understanding, fellowship and good-will. Now all the harm has resulted from the fact that Tolerance is basically an erroneous principle—it is smug, high-hatting, superior. It is charity rather than justice. It assumes to distribute spiritual alms to the psychically starving (?) adherents of inferior religions. Oliver Wendell Holmes said that "the word tolerance is an insult as applied by one set of well-behaved people to another." Dieffenbach goes even further and says: "Tolerance by itself is not a true principle, either as an abstract proposition or as a workable guide in actual life. Perhaps it were nearer the truth to say tolerance is only half of a principle. To be tolerant only, counts for nothing and worse than nothing. It is not a mere personal negative weakness for one to be tolerant; it is a social menace. Tolerance in itself alone is hardly less

vicious than intolerance." When James Harvey Robinson recently wrote, in Isaac Landman's noteworthy book called "Christian and Jew," that he has "no great love of the word" liberalism, was it because of the historic connection between liberalism and tolerance? Mere tolerance is divisive. It accentuates our differences without rising above them. It is the antithesis of the best thought and the best feeling of Christianity and Judaism. It is a step beyond intolerance, to be sure, but it has many steps to take before it reaches the goal of religious equality and good-will. So far does mere tolerance miss the objective of true liberalism that I have called academic liberalism a pseudo-liberalism. And though we point with pride to the nineteenth century as the century of tolerance, it is really because during the past century true liberals (no doubt unconsciously) were reading into tolerance the higher and the finer implications of good-will, that is, of fraternalism, that we feel that great progress toward better understanding and fellowship and cooperation was made. Reread Phillips Brooks' two noteworthy addresses on Tolerance, e. g., and you will find that actually his plea is for unity and good-will. This revised and expanded and deepened concept of tolerance is typical then, in spite of a Duehring and a Treitschke, of a gradually increasing number of nineteenth-century thinkers and preachers and leaders. For this reason we may still point with appreciation to the nineteenth century as the century of tolerance. But our day has outlived the word as we have outlived the fact. Ours is the Century of Good Will. And good-will, thank God, is not divisive. It is unitive.

Two hundred years ago this stirring summons to Good Will issued from the pen and life of perhaps the foremost and truest Christian liberal of history. Two hundred years ago Lessing and Mendelssohn proved to the world that, without ulterior motive, a Christian and a Jew could be devoted and deathless friends. Two hundred years ago a Christian and a Jew gave history unsurpassed evidences of the only true religious liberal—he who sees worth in every great religion and to whom the only test of religious worth is socialized conduct. Two hundred years ago this loyal Christian and this loyal Jew enunciated the principle that mere Tolerance is not enough, that true Christianity and true Judaism lead to active Co-operation and Good Will among men of differing faiths. They showed that Christian

and Jew could be knit together in common interests, common ambitions, common ideals, even though their theological platforms conflicted. They showed that Truth is not copyrighted by the Jew, nor idealism by the Christian, nor sincerity by the Catholic, nor character by the Protestant. They showed that a Christian could remain a loyal Christian and a Jew a loyal Jew while both joined heads and hands to fight the common enemies of ignorance and injustice, hatred and wrong-doing. They showed that there is no such thing as Catholic tuberculosis or Protestant prostitution or Jewish poverty. They showed their conviction that above Christianity and above Judaism is mankind. They showed that there is an essential oneness of aim and hope and prayer back of all the great world religions, a one-ness that transcends denominational differences and unites Jew and non-Jew, Christian and non-Christian in brotherhood. And above all they showed that these things are achieved when men of different faiths meet in friendly fellowship, with the desire to know and to understand one another better. Thus Lessing and Mendelssohn forecasted by almost two centuries the point of view of present-day religious liberalism. Indeed their bodies were of the eighteenth but their spirit of the twentieth century. Two centuries ago they laid down the very basic principles of the modern good-will movement. Theirs is a timeless service to the growing rapprochement of Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jew.

Lessing and Mendelssohn—what contrasting personalities, what antipodal backgrounds, what perfect exemplars of the implications of liberalism and the meaning of good-will! The aristocratic Christian and the Schütz-Jude, the "Protected Jew." The "unostentatiously elegant" free-man and the "kleinen Jude," who was almost barred from Berlin when he first approached the Rosenthaler Gate. The fine-featured, upstanding German and the malformed, small-statured Semite ! Yet what community of outlook, of mental interest, of sympathy, of soul. What a challenge to the possibilities of personal happiness and human service through better understanding. Brought together to play chess, their personalities interlocked as a scissors and they were destined henceforth to play the game of life as champions each of the other. Thenceforth the inter-indebtedness of Mendelssohn to Lessing and Lessing to Mendelssohn cannot be

over-estimated, as it can scarcely be adequately measured. All the biographies agree that they shared ideas on most the themes which later were the subjects of their individual writings. The world knows that Mendelssohn was the model for Nathan the Wise; but less generally is it known, e. g., that Mendelssohn's paper on the psychology of sensation and the sources of pleasure and his treatise on the principles of art, to say nothing of their numerous personal discussions on art and literature, had marked influence upon Lessing's monumental work upon the segregation of the fields of poetry and painting, the "Laocoon." Their influence, individually and jointly, upon the German literary renascence was monumental. If modern German literature begins with Lessing, classic, philosophic, linguistic style begins with Mendelssohn—a style so simple, so direct, so lucid that Kant remarked that were the Muses to choose a language for philosophy it would be the language of Mendelssohn. Their relationship to the Enlightenment also was in many vital respects identical. They sponsored and influenced its platform of the open mind, its freedom of research and belief, its support of natural religion as against reason-ignoring tradition. Yet they broke with the Aufklaerung in the essential importance they attributed to religious sentiment, which explains their complete agreement upon the thesis of "Nathan the Wise," even though in many ways the religious problems of Mendelssohn the Jew differed from those of Lessing the Christian. These points of agreement and disagreement with the Enlightenment account too for the fact that though the German Plato's noble defense of the immortality of the soul was based upon reason he yet remained a ceremonialist Jew; and that though Lessing never was a dogmatic Christian, neither was he engulfed in the skepticism or deism of the Enlightenment. Indeed the personal religious viewpoint of Lessing is still a moot question; critics are still divided as to whether, toward the close of his life as affirmed by Jacobi, he became a Spinozist. It is indeed a pity that any should insist upon labelling Lessing a Deist or a Spinozist or what not, as Kuno Fischer, Heine and others have done. For as his brother Karl has said, while he never gave up his belief in a personal God nor ceased to be a Christian, Lessing's type of thought and feeling inhibited formal identification with this or that school of religious philosophy. In this respect he both differed

from and agreed with Mendelssohn: the link between them, from the point of view of their consistent and true liberalism, being that, though both were charged with atheism, Lessing remained Christian and Mendelssohn Jew. Indeed I cannot emphasize too much how completely Lessing and Mendelssohn each gave the test and met the test of true liberalism. They proved that loyalty to one's own faith is compatible with, nay essential to, a thorough-going liberalism. What gave Mendelssohn the influence successfully to persuade Von Dohm to issue his epochal appeal for the civil emancipation of the Jews? Only this: that his whole life had met the test of true liberalism—loyalty to the Jew and fraternalism with the non-Jew. His key-position issued from the fact that, as a true liberal, he was *persona grata* with both Christian and Jew alike. Every thing in this paper, on the other hand, evidences the complete consistency of Lessing's liberalism. The descendants of Mendelssohn altogether misunderstood his liberalism, it is true; and justified their renunciation of Judaism on the grounds that Mendelssohn had denied that there is an absolutely true religion and that he had asserted, in the words of Israel Abrahams, "the pragmatic principle of the possible plurality of truths: that just as various nations need different constitutions, congenial to the national genius, so individuals may need different religions. The test of religion is its effect on conduct." Nor was the liberalism of Lessing understood or appreciated in his day. When he died the newspapers of Hamburg published nothing in commendation of the finest spirit of modern Germany, while churchmen fought against any public ceremony in his honor. But after their death the world realized increasingly the powerful and permanent influence upon our concepts of liberalism and upon the growth of tolerance, humanity and good-will between Christian and Jew, which the friendship of Lessing and Mendelssohn wielded. It is the classic example of the identity of human interest and sympathy and idealism among Christians and Jews, Catholics and Protestants alike: an identity after all more real than our differences: an identity discoverable through fellowship and understanding. As another has well said: "To return to Lessing is to advance."

It is fitting that we Jews especially should mark the bi-centennial of Lessing's birth, for we especially have felt the benediction of his

legacy. It has been said that Lessing opened the doors of the ghetto. It has been said of Mendelssohn too. And both statements are true. For these two friends, who were born seven months apart and died five years apart, interlaced their lives even as their service to humanity. It was Lessing who introduced Mendelssohn to the world of letters by publishing his "Philosophical Conversations" (Philosophische Gespraeche). It was Lessing who added to Mendelssohn's prestige by publishing a work on "Pope as Metaphysician," written jointly by the two friends in defense of Leibnitz. It was Lessing who, with Thomas Abbt, encouraged the writing of Mendelssohn's "Phaedon" and the resultant homage of Europe to the "Jew Moses" (Lavater's phrase). So that if Mendelssohn helped to open the doors of the ghetto, and to hearten the soul of the Jew, it was Lessing who helped to unlock the doors of Mendelssohn's soul. But, as we all know, it was not through indirection alone that Lessing influenced the civil enfranchisement of the Jew and the whole movement toward tolerance and good-will. It was the man who wrote "The Jews," seven years before he had met Mendelssohn; the man whose depiction in this play of a Jew as an exemplary man evoked a storm of disagreement and abuse; the man who later met Moses Mendelssohn and found in him the in-the-flesh example of high Jewish character which his sense of justice had created in the drama; the man who later crowned a life second to none in human history in its dedication to truth and justice and humanity by writing that drama which is not a drama but a sermon, that sermon which is not a sermon but a soul-cry for human tolerance, sympathy, understanding and good-will whose reverberations are thundering forth louder and louder as time goes on, the man who wrote "Nathan the Wise": it was Lessing whose whole life was an active battle for the cause of Jew, for the cause of humanity. For humanity! That is the essence of Lessing's legacy. Everything he did, everything he wrote had humanity as the high objective. And that is why his final and most convincing achievements—the "Education of the Human Race" and "Nathan the Wise"—are a plea against the perverseness of prejudice and a call to humanity for humanity.

That "prophecy is the child of suffering" is proved anew through the birth-pains attendant upon the appearance of "Nathan the Wise." That the true prophet is far removed from petty and localized con-

troversy is also illustrated. As librarian at the Bibliotheca Augusta in Wolfenbuettel, Lessing found himself in the midst of perhaps the most bitter controversy of his life because of his publication anonymously of the famous so-called "Fragments": a religious controversy which produced numerous venomous and vitriolic articles in condemnation of Lessing, of which the more important are those of Goeze, Chief Pastor of Hamburg, and which called forth in turn the noteworthy eleven "Anti-Goeze" brochures by "the Achilles of German literature," as Lessing was called by Goethe and Schiller. Forbidden to continue the controversy, and with much still unsaid, Lessing announced his intention to "return to his own pulpit, the stage" and rather hurriedly produced "Nathan the Wise." Now to me this episode reflects the depths and the heights of Lessing's humanity and human interest. For instead of writing a polemic in dramatic form, as all the world anticipated, Lessing gave to this bitter, wrangling and unappreciating world perhaps the most unique dramatic poem of all literature, perhaps the most convincing and moving sermon ever preached. That "Nathan the Wise" is the "Fortsetzung" or second part of "The Jews," as Kant indicated, we know to be true because Lessing himself says that he had sketched the idea of the play long before the controversy over the "Fragments." In "Nathan the Wise" Lessing appears no longer in the rôle of Achilles: rather as a world-judge in a world-court of timeless sitting, pronouncing words of such judicial wisdom and reverent piety as emanate only from a spirit truly touched by the divine. In the classic words of Mendelssohn, written to Karl Lessing: "Fortenelle said to Copernicus: 'He made known his new system and died.' The biography of your brother might be similarly summed up. He wrote 'Nathan the Wise' and died. Of a work of the spirit, which should stand as far above Nathan as this piece, in my idea, stands above all that up to that time he had written, I confess I can form no idea. He could not rise higher without passing into a region where our sense-dimmed eyes could not follow him—and, indeed, this he did. Even now we stand here, like the sons of the prophet, looking up to the place in the sky where he disappeared from our sight."

It would indeed be carrying coals to Newcastle for me to outline here the theme of the play, the oft-retold story of The Three Rings, or

the argument of "Nathan the Wise" for the reality of true religion. Lessing hardly is fair to himself when he says that he would be satisfied if the play "taught one reader in a thousand to doubt the evidence and universality of his religion"; for this is a negative approach to a positive ideal of the ultimate unity of all religions which he sought to preach. That no religion has a monopoly on Truth; that all the world-religions share in the larger revelation of God; and that therefore the most real test of one's own religion is the degree of Human Fellowship which it quickens: this is the medulla of Lessing's sermon in metre. Is this not the core too of the modern good-will movement? Lessing himself knew how far in advance of its time was this message. He thought a century would elapse before the play could even be staged. It is saddening to realize that he died before its presentation. The first production in Berlin was a failure. It was confiscated in Vienna. But ever since Schiller and Goethe, some twenty years later, produced it in Weimar in 1801, it has remained a high favorite on the German stage; while no poem of German literature except "Faust" has been more studied and commented upon. Does this not persuade us that the theme of Human Fellowship and Unity and Good Will is an idea, in the phrase of Victor Hugo, whose time has at last come? Goethe spoke truly when he said at Lessing's death: "We lose much in him, more than we think." But how much more have we gained in Lessing—how much more than even Goethe had thought! How much more, perhaps, than any of us even today realize!

Indeed the manifold and various implications of this legacy of Lessing, this legacy of the friendship of Lessing and Mendelssohn, challenge our most searching thinking. With your indulgence let me close with a thought or two thereon. If this paper has meant anything at all more than a mere historical study, I hope it has successfully differentiated between a negative and an active liberalism—between tolerance as the result of the one and good-will or fraternalism as the fruit of the other. The good-will of Lessing and Mendelssohn, while undoubtedly instinctive in large degree, was encouraged and fed and developed through mind—through the conscious direction of thought and the data of knowledge. I spoke earlier in this paper of Lessing's profound learning and the unification of his personality.

Let me say now that I think it was the character of his thinking which was responsible for the unification of his personality. Most of us believe today that there is no *natural* repugnance between Christian and Jew: that better understanding ultimately will clear out the cobwebs of prejudice and intolerance. A large sympathy between Christian and Jew can develop only through a large knowledge each of the other, it is true. But better understanding means not only that we *learn* more of one another but that we *unlearn* much that is stored in our subconscious thought. We must give conscious direction to our thinking *away* from certain past modes and tendencies of thought and *toward* new goals and new sympathies. And this must be tackled at the source—at the font of misinformation and mal-information and insufficient information. That font is alike the Synagog and the Church. No one can doubt the high value of seminars of good-will at Columbia University or a southern college, in which Catholic and Protestant and Jew try to take off their masks: notwithstanding the discouraging complications that have followed upon some recent attempts in this direction. They should be encouraged and multiplied. But more important is the removal of the masks of history from the lesson-material taught our Jewish and Christian youth alike. We Jewish teachers must present to our Jewish youth a picture of Christianity and Christian history broadly and sympathetically, stressing to the degree to which full truth and justice permit all its ennobling qualities whereby to quicken the impulse of good-will toward Christianity in our Jewish youth. Christian religious teachers must do no less in presenting Judaism and Jewish history to the Christian youth. For those who attend university seminars for good-will will seek better understanding voluntarily, and they are probably least in need of it. But we Christian and Jewish teachers must create a generation of men and women whose modes and direction of thinking are different from those of the past century. When the time comes that, not denominationally but objectively, not as protagonists of religion but of truth, Jews and Christians alike present Judaism and Christianity alike, each to his own, the goal of good-will will draw nigh. The Christian church must present to its communicants the full story of the matchless contribution of the Jew to civilization; at the same time presenting in a new way those

data concerning the Jew, from the crucifixion story to the modern tales of ritual murder, which unhappily have been twisted from their historic settings for propagandic or other purposes. But the Synagog can do no less. For so long as we Jews, because we have been the historic scapegoat of a persecuting majority, fail to realize that in us too there is an attitude to un-learn and truths to learn, so long will we do our part to prevent the dawning of the day of universal good-will. The Synagog then likewise must teach its members the high contribution of Christianity to civilization—fully and sympathetically as is told the story of Rome. To that end the Synagog must present to our growing youth an historical but completely sympathetic picture of Jesus, his place in the history of religion and the religious history of man, the beauty and challenge of his sayings and parables. This must be done frankly and fearlessly in the interest of truth, in the interest of the ultimate unification of mankind, in the interest of good-will. But let me add: it would be a pitiful misunderstanding of my point of view and motive to interpret this as flirtation with Christianity, or as anything even remotely comparable with the attitude of the "amateur gentile." It is a superficial Jewish chauvinism which would hold up the hands in unholy horror against the attitude for which I plead. I hope my hearers may avoid it. I hope my hearers may realize that this attitude, unpopular in chauvinistic Jewish circles, is alone consistent, daring though it be, with the true purpose of Judaism, with the meaning of true religion. Only such an attitude on our part will make the Jew in the pew realize his Jewish share in the responsibility of ushering in the era of true human fellowship, of true good-will.

For we Jews and Christians alike, if good-will is to grow among us, must enlarge our mental peripheries and expand our psychic perimeters. Jew must look upon Christian and Christian upon Jew with new eyes, new sympathies, a new eagerness to understand. Jews and Christians alike must scourge their spirits and whip their souls until they become clean of all smallness, all ingrown-ness, all blindness, all prejudice.

We Jews must train ourselves to see in the Christian not our historic enemy, not our century-old baiter and hounder, not our perennial persecutor, not the agent of the Inquisition, not the imposer of

the yellow badge, not the creator of the ghetto, not the executor of all manner and variety of injustice—but rather the historic agent for broadcasting the essence and the ideals of Judaism, the religious offshoot of our own ancestry, the agent of God for a tremendous world-work among men, the brother of Jesus the Jew!

And the Christian must train himself to see in the Jew not "just a Jew," not "the dirty Jew," not the wearer of the yellow badge, not the Christ-killer, not the object of his historic prejudice, not the social inferior and outcast, not the object of his pity and contempt, not a being of different flesh and bone—but of the race that gave the world its Moses, its Abraham, its Prophets; of the race that gave the world its Jesus and Mary and Paul and Apostles; of the race that gave humanity its One God, its Moral Law, its Messianic Hope, its Golden Rule, its Ten Commandments, its Bible!

That, as I see it, is the vital element in the legacy of Lessing and Mendelssohn. It is the gospel of forebearance, of appreciation, of respect, of sympathy. It flows from the conviction, common to Judaism and Christianity alike, of the oneness of God and the oneness of man. It is the gospel of fellowship and good-will. It is summarized in those majestic lines so often quoted, but not quoted enough, from "Nathan the Wise." You remember that the Christian monk turns to Nathan and says: "Why Nathan, you are a Christian! A better Christian never lived!" To which Nathan replies: "What makes me a Christian in your eyes makes you a Jew in mine!"

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Albert G. Minda: A younger colleague—may I nevertheless be permitted to express my profound appreciation of the paper presented to us by Rabbi Kopald. After several years of enforced absence from our gatherings, Rabbi Kopald returns to us with a contribution rich in content and thought. If there is any phase of human life to which the old rabbinic dictum applies "Not the teaching is the essential, but the deed," it is the problem of good-will amongst men of diverse creeds, races and nationalities. Our Conference Committee on Program is therefore to be congratu-

lated on selecting a man of good-will to expound the message of good-will.

Rabbi Kopald, it seems to me, has done well in presenting us with a detailed and expansive picture of the milieu in which Lessing and Mendelssohn lived and of the historical background which makes that immortal friendship stand out in bold relief—an age which boasted of its enlightenment and liberalism and yet one which in many respects failed to translate theory into reality.

Little need be added to the picture already drawn. There is, however, one statement quoted by our Dr. Deutsch of blessed memory in the preface to his "History of the Jews" which sums up tersely and succinctly the forces against which Lessing and Mendelssohn struggled and which makes us all the more appreciative of that friendship which bound the Christian and the Jew in a common cause.

Frederick the Great, who regarded himself as a representative of the "Age of Enlightenment," wrote to the Minister von Hoym on May 17, 1780, the following:

> "If the Jews were expelled and Christians would take their places as innkeepers, it would be for the good of the country and we would have more human beings and less Jews."

"More human beings and less Jews." Well, if there was anything which the friendship of Lessing and Mendelssohn bequeathed to the Good Will movement of today, it is the thought that no force, be it religion, race or nationality, can ever rob a man of that divine birthright which stamps him as a human and which endows him with those fundamental traits of soul and spirit that make the members of the entire human family, kinsmen. Significantly does Lessing have Nathan ask the Templar:

> "Are Jews and Christians Christians and Jews
> Rather than men?—ah—if I've found in you one more for whom it is enough to be—
> A man."

Here you have in juxtaposition two diametrically opposed points of view—the statement of Frederick the Great and the sentiment of Lessing—which represented the issue at

stake in the Good Will movement of the latter days of the eighteenth century and which today inspires Christian and Jewish disciples of Lessing and Mendelssohn to enter the same arena in which they struggled.

It may perhaps be in place in this discussion to point out (even as it has been in the paper read) the fact that our modern Good Will movement is faced with some of the same problems which confronted these stalwart champions of liberalism and at the same time, to show that in other respects, the problems have become more numerous and of a more acute character.

The Jewish Daily Bulletin of June 10th, 1929, carried the report of criticisms from certain quarters leveled at the Committee on Good Will on the score that this Commission frowns upon and disapproves of any efforts towards proselytizing. Mendelssohn, you will recall, had the same problem to contend with in his controversy with Lavater—and to my mind, no finer statement differentiating between the negative attitude of tolerance and the positive position of liberalism has ever been made, than the one which Mendelssohn employed in replying to Lavater's plea or challenge for his conversion. He wrote:

> " I have the good fortune to possess as friends many excellent men not of my creed. We love each other dearly and never have I said in my heart, 'what a pity for that beautiful soul.' "

(In passing may it be remarked that the important words in this significant statement are "never have I said in my heart.")

The objections which some find in the modern Good Will movement indicate that neither Mendelssohn's preachments nor Lessing's theses have found universal acceptance. Missions to the Jews, prayers for the salvation of "Turks, Jews and infidels"—based upon at least some of the implications of the statement "extra ecclesiam nulla salus"—("outside of this particular church or creed there is no salvation"), still prevail. It is only a suggestion but one worth considering, namely, to have the Committee on Good Will present in

popular tract form various excerpts from the writings of Lessing and Mendelssohn as a tribute on the two-hundredth anniversary of their birth and as a means of disseminating the idea—that it is rather late in the day for any group to adhere to the idea that any one religious faith or creed holds a monopoly on divine truth or salvation.

There is only one other thought that I wish to present and I conclude. Since the days of Lessing and Mendelssohn the proponents of the Good Will movement have been confronted with another problem which did not exist for them, at least, not to the degree that it does today. Intolerance at the end of the eighteenth century was largely based (paradoxical and ironical as it may seem) on religious grounds. Since that time there has arisen the new schools of "Rassenpsychologie"—(Race Psychology" or the Anthroporacial school (as the sociologist terms it) developed by Count de Gobineau (1816-1882), G. Vasher de LaPouge, Otto Ammon and others. Upon their conclusions G. K. Chesterton, Hillaire Belloc, and Lathrop Stoddard have built many of their literary structures. With this school has come the idea of natural and inherent inferiority and superiority of race and racial culture. Gobineau speaks of the Jews as those who always remain the "aliens among all peoples" and chooses to term this "The Jewish Age."

It is needless to state that the conclusions of this Anthropo-racial school have received little acceptance by accredited scientists but they have, nevertheless, been incorporated in some forms of legislation and have proved to be another factor making for ill-will which Lessing and Mendelssohn knew not.

In William Hard's trenchant essay "Mediaeval Irony in Modern Guise," published in Landman's volume "Christian and Jew," he strikes at the very heart of the problem when he says:

> "An infidel could change his belief. How is a poor non-nordic person going to change his skull. Religious exclusiveness was bad. Cranial exclusiveness is final. We live in

an age in which our hatred has been shifted from the infidel who could be cured by baptism and the heretic who could be cured by recantation, to the foreigner whom nothing can cure."

Hard's suggestion or solution is, therefore, a very wise one when he says:

"The feeling against Jews in the modern world cannot be cured by an effort simply to cure the feeling against Jews. The religious obduracy of the Jew has been followed by the racial obduracy of the Jew. Once regarded as a religious stranger—he is now regarded as a racial stranger. He is regarded in a strong sense—as a foreigner and the feeling against him can in the end die down only as the feeling against all foreigners—the feeling to which our modern sociologists have given the descriptive word "xenophobia" is tempered and extinguished."

Thus Good Will between Christian and Jew becomes part of a larger and universal problem. This was indicated in "Nathan the Wise." In a scientific age, however, its progress will require something more than philosophic or dramatic preachments. Science whose name the apostles of ill-will have taken in vain, must be called upon as an ally in defense of human fellowship and solidarity. Scientist and dramatist, philosopher and moralist, religionist and ethicist, will be compelled to join hands in the age-old struggle for good-will and mutual understanding amongst men.

Rabbi Bernard Heller: I do not wish to imply that I underestimate the scholarship that has entered into the preparation of the two papers on Mendelssohn, nor the lucidity with which they were presented. I merely rise because I feel that I have a different interpretation of the achievements of Moses Mendelssohn. I believe that the first two papers have illustrated the truth that "Wie es Christelt sich, so Yiddelt sich." The tendency in biography today is to debunk great characters. Washington was dealt in such a way by Rupert Hughes, Lincoln by Tarbel, I think. The writers of the above papers have subjected Moses Mendelssohn to the same treatment. Now it is perfectly all right to take a great figure off an exalted pedestal and place it on a human plane. It is, however, quite different to chuck

it into a cellar or on a heap of rubbish. I think to a great extent we have done this very thing to Moses Mendelssohn.

Moses Mendelssohn's work has been appraised on the basis of the achievements and the point of view which we have today in the twentieth century. This is an unfair attitude to take. It is unfair to appraise the scientific achievements of Newton on the basis of contributions and the discoveries and the researches which have been made by Einstein.

Moses Mendelssohn's great achievement is this: and I think he deserves a *misheberach* instead of a contemptuous sneer from the moderns. He had emancipated himself from a casuistic interpretation of religion. Yet he evolved a philosophy which made it compatible for him to maintain that fidelity to Judaism and to Jewish life which he did. And he did it, not at the expense of a certain healthy rationalism, an attitude which was taken even by Maimonides. Maimonides faced the difficulties of miracles, but he got out of it by saying God created miracles when he created the world, therefore, it doesn't represent an infraction of the laws of nature. Mendelssohn's attitude is free of such blunt evasions.

It is true, gentlemen, that Mendelssohn didn't perceive something that we perceive today, namely that Judaism to a great extent represents the perception and the vision of the Jewish people. I am, however, not sure whether we can make an affirmation without qualifications. I think we ought to be chary in making such an affirmation in view of the papers we have heard this morning and in view of the mountains of research which have been made by biblical students, showing that Judaism is not entirely the native and original perception and vision of the Jewish people, and that to a great extent it has been imported from alien cultures and alien civilizations. We today even have not yet defined the source as well as the authority of Judaism.

It is also true, gentlemen, that Mendelssohn did not take

into consideration the principle of change which the later leaders of Reform Judaism have evinced in their interpretations of Judaism. But we must remember that Mendelssohn lived before Hegel who evolved a theory which pervaded the minds of the people of that century. What was that theory? That theory states that there is an upward flow and development in history; there is one movement (thesis) and then a counter-movement (antithesis) and then a further progressive movement (synthesis). Mendelssohn lived before Darwin and before the doctrine of evolution became so popular and prevalent.

It is also true that Mendelssohn did not stress as much as we do today the element of emotion in religion, but we must remember that Mendelssohn lived before Schleiermacher, who emphasized a great deal the emotional element that goes, and must go into the definition and into the explanation of religion.

There are some achievements which Mendelssohn has to his credit and these achievements are these, that he avoided some of the mistakes that the later leaders of Reform fell into. When he defined Judaism he stressed a great deal the ethnical element which enters into the making of Judaism and Jewish life. He did not revert to any over-emphasis on Mosaism at the expense of rabbinism.

Then there is one thing that I think was entirely neglected. That one thing goes to the glorification of the name of Moses Mendelssohn. For it makes Mendelssohn not only a modern, but in a sense makes him the forerunner of one of the greatest thinkers of the twentieth century, William James. His interpretation of Judaism emphasizes and stresses the pragmatic phase or principle of our faith. Maimonides succeeded in steering clear of transcendentalism and orthodox dogmatism, showing that he was interested not in a speculation that had no bearing on life, but he was interested in a type of thought which had definite effects on human happiness. To this extent he may be likened to the philosopher of Amsterdam. In stressing the

pragmatic element I think Mendelssohn stressed a great Jewish truth, the truth which is expressed in the Ethics of the Fathers that "It is not theories but deeds that are important." See also Chapt. III:12.

In a brief essay on Mendelssohn's "Jerusalem," Israel Abrahams tells us that on one occasion he had a long talk with William James about the philosophy of the Socrates of Berlin. Mr. Abrahams tells us that William James admitted to him that his own pragmatic theories were so closely paralleled by those of the "Jerusalem" of Mendelssohn that he felt impelled some day to write on the subject. This incident I think is of utmost importance towards the support of my contention. In that essay, Abrahams correctly asserts: "Whether we agree with Mendelssohn or not, let us at least agree in appreciation of his genius. What he did, and what we do not do, is to face unflinchingly the discussion of fundamentals. Reading Mendelssohn is to breathe fresh air." (From *By-Paths in Hebraic Bookkland*).

Rabbi Foster: I wish to direct attention for a moment to the paper presented by Rabbi Kopald on the good will movement of today as rooted in the relationship between Lessing and Mendelssohn. While I think the paper was charmingly conceived and very beautifully presented it shows nevertheless the insufficiency and the superficiality of a great deal that goes under the name and under the program of good will. I think, philosophically speaking, it is impossible for two religious systems involving fundamentally different points of view as Judaism and Christianity naturally do, with corollaries in conduct and moral duties that are distinctive, ever to be reconciled. We should always and everywhere act with good will toward all individuals of every creed, a duty which we regard both as a matter of principle and of policy. We have always tried to treat in a friendly way the Christian neighbor, but we can never regard the Christian religion as equal to our own. We should treat all religions with respect but we realize that we cannot reconcile Judaism with it, to put them upon a plane of equality,

for the simple reason that a creed is not simply a formula acceptable merely as a philosophical and psychological interpretation of the universe. It is something that eventuates into conduct. Every word, every paragraph, every analysis, every slogan that we intelligently use implies human conduct, and ultimately a clear conception of God, a conception of the universe and duty and destiny that determines our conduct, our relationship with our fellow-beings, and we cannot tolerate anything that is inferior to what we believe to be as near perfect as human mind can conceive it at the time. Judaism and Christianity as religions can never be put upon a plane of equality, that is what we are practicing, that is what we essentially believe when we analyze our inner reactions to our faith. This does not prove scientifically that we are right, but we believe that we have formulated the religious system that history will substantiate. We have to leave the decision to history and to human events, but we firmly believe that our faith will meet every test. But we cannot reconcile on the same plane Judaism and Christianity which cannot meet the tests of life to the same degree and it is a falsity even to attempt it. So the good will and toleration movements applied to religious matters are insufficient, if we are led to appraise them as equally valid. The conduct, the ethical value derived from them are dissimilar enough to make the religious systems appear irreconcilable.

Secondly, I wish to point to the danger of trying to reproduce perfectly in modern times any personality, philosophy or policy of the past. They may have played important parts in human progress and we need to study and understand them but no environment of the past is fitted to be translated and transplanted into our present situation. It is all right for us to analyze the period of Mendelssohn and Lessing, and to rejoice to recall the friendship that obtained between them, but this existed in spite of their religious differences. But no intelligent Jew could accept literally Lessing's suggestion that the Judaism of the one was in-

terchangeable with the Christianity of the other. As a play on words, it was pleasing, but not true.

Another point that ought to be stressed a great deal was made by the speakers as to the difference between tolerance and good will. I think it is an interesting bit of verbalism for essentially good will is the same thing as tolerance from the point of view of religion, the former being largely the objective, and the latter the subjective side of kindly thought and generous action. I think that history will bear out the observation that our Jewish religion has produced finer types of humanity and nobler theories and practices in life than any other religious system that we know, and therefore tolerance and good will as expressive of these attitudes naturally show a dissimilar point of view in comparison with Christianity.

In practical ways, in life relationships of business, politics and so forth we have got to get along in a friendly way with our Christian neighbors. But ultimately this world exhibits a battle of ideas; it is true in individuals, in institutions, in nations, and in great eras in history. We are strong or weak according to the ideas that we understand and adopt and apply. If the individual embodies a good idea, a true idea, he will be invincible, but if he adopts a weak idea, an imperialistic idea, he must fail. The former Kaiser of Germany, for example, before November 11, 1918, commanded great respect, and after November 11, 1918, he was a broken individual, just a common ordinary citizen. What made the difference? Nothing that could be noted in him; he was the same individual, angry and perplexed that minds and feelings of his people had changed toward him. It was a change in ideas. The superior triumphed over the lower. The process is to be seen in the religious conception and practices of all peoples. Jewish ideas must prevail in the end. A reference to Good Will Movement in its practicality, as we have experience it, will not be inappropriate from me, because I happened to be present at the meeting on June 6th in the Federal Council Building, of a

Joint Committee on Good Will, the report of which appeared on June 10th in the Jewish Daily Bulletin. That was a false report of that meeting. Our friends of the other side failed to report the most essential thing that took place at that meeting, and that was the adoption of the resolution recommending the dissolution of the Committee on Good Will.

It was brought out at the meeting that Dr. Anthony and Dr. Clinchy, the leaders of the Good Will movement under the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, reported to their own body the following statement:

"As a Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, however, there are vast possibilities for us to practice the principle of love in our relations with the Jews.

"Contacts and cooperation with Jewish groups and organizations representing different wings of Hebrew life and thought and varied interests have been open to the Committee in almost too great a profusion during the last four years of its activities. It is, however, of the utmost importance that Christianity in America should have some outpost of goodwill, such as our Committee, seeking understanding and cooperation with the contemporary representatives of the race and religion of which Jesus Himself and the prophets were a part. The very existence of this Committee is a testimony of inestimable value to the spirit of Christ and His modern disciples." (Federal Council Report, 1928, p. 74). Coupled with that, last October this very group was asked as individuals to recommend to their constituent bodies to discountenance the missionary activities and they put themselves on record in the negative. Now if they were regarding us with real good will, with sincere toleration, as individuals, they should, to say the least, have discountenanced missionary activities, but they refused to do it.

The plain meaning of these references is a subtle form of propaganda, not actively missionizing or proselytizing by the members of the Committee, perhaps, but they are not

averse to preparing the road for others to come along and do their best to win our people to Christianity.

We can respect them as individuals in all lines of work, cooperating with them in every worthy civic, charitable, and intellectual movement but keeping ourselves distinct and independent in all religious matters.

Rabbi Silverman: I will first pay my respects to the writers of the papers, which are excellent in every respect. The Conference has already commended them for their excellent views from three different standpoints. Only one observation I wish to make, that we are not justified in calling the good will that existed between Mendelssohn and Lessing, which has been well brought out, a precursor of the good will movement of today. I do not think there is any connection between the two. I doubt whether the philo-Jews of today know much about the friendship of Lessing and Mendelssohn, and if they do know, whether they care anything about it.

Rabbi Isaac Landman: Lest there arise in your minds a misconception as to the good-will movement, due to the criticisms passed upon it by Rabbis Foster and Silverman, I arise to explain one point.

The good will of which Rabbi Kopald spoke in his paper has only in the slightest degree a relationship to what was said by Rabbi Foster and Rabbi Silverman. Rabbi Kopald dwelt upon the good will and fine understanding that characterized the relationship between Lessing and Mendelssohn. The difficulties which have arisen in the relationship between the Conference and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ are due to the fact that the Joint Commission is based on a premise entirely different from that which motivated the relationship between Mendelssohn and Lessing.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis is a religious organization with dogmas and principles and beliefs which, as Rabbi Foster said, he believes are superior to those of the Christians. The Federal Council of Churches represents

another religious group which, as Dr. Anthony would probably say, holds dogmas and principles and beliefs which are superior to those of the Jews. We are attempting, in our Joint Commission, to bring together two diverse religious groups who, as religionists, do not speak the same language —an impossible situation.

What Lessing and Mendelssohn achieved was something else altogether, something that the Permanent Commission on Better Understanding Between Christians and Jews in America founded itself on; that is, a basis of relationship not between creeds and religions, but between men. What Rabbi Foster said illustrates exactly what I mean. Some of us consider ourselves Jews before we consider ourselves human beings, and some others consider themselves Christians before they consider themselves human beings. Now Lessing and Mendelssohn started from the proposition that they were human beings first and religionists afterwards. Good-will and better understanding can arise only between humans, no matter what their creeds, no matter what their beliefs; and if we approach the subject from that point of view, in this country, as intelligent humans, citizens of America, who may be Protestants or Catholics or Jews, but aim at the attainment of genuine brotherhood, then can we hope for a legitimate, a prosperous and an eventuating understanding that will be good-will indeed.

Rabbi Goldenson: Just a word. It is too late to make any extended remarks; I am very much interested in all the papers and I just want to say a word about the discussion. I agree of course with my friend, Rabbi Kopald, that tolerance is an insufficient principle, but I am not altogether certain but that good will, unless it is supplemented by something else is also insufficient. I doubt whether there is one word or one single principle that can be relied upon to achieve the desired result. Let me give you an illustration of what has been running through my mind.

There are persons who are able to interpret their good will in the sense of their love of the soul of somebody else

in such a wise as to even persecute them in body in order ultimately to save the soul. The principle of good will alone, or even the principle of love, unless it is supplemented by a proper approach and corrected by certain other regulative principles or modes of thinking is insufficient. What I should like to urge is the neccessity to approach these problems genetically. The genetic principle runs through the understanding of all phenomena, whether in the physical or mental world. The genetic principle itself tends to liberalize the person, that is, when fully understood, tends to keep him from fixing himself at a particular point and regarding that as the absolute terminus. And there is the principle of totality. I think Rabbi Landman struck the point—the human race is bigger than any part of the human race. And then there is the approach to liberalism from the standpoint that it is an instrument, that it is a regulative method or a function in the pursuit of value. When one sets out to achieve truth, to gain a more abundant life, one is led to keep one's self free to pursue new paths, to watch for the opening of new doors.

It is, I think, important for us in the discussion of all these things to realize that no static principle alone can achieve the goal. In connection with every static principle we must introduce a co-relative regulative method by which to keep the principle freshly operative in our minds. For that reason I thought it might be helpful to analyze liberalism as a function of value, as a function of the pursuit of further truth, which leads to open mindedness and the appreciation of other persons and their contributions.

Rabbi Louis J. Kopald: Rabbi Landman and Rabbi Goldenson said many things better than I could say them, probably. To begin at the end: I do think that what Rabbis Foster and Silverman said proves very specifically my chief point—that is, the need of unlearning much that is stored in our subconsciousness. Certainly the major emphasis of my paper in the matter of Liberalism was on the unity of mankind, the oneness ultimately of all men. I think also

that a careful review of my paper will show that, without using the words genetic or genetic philosophy, I have stressed just that, as I have emphasized the need of new modes of thinking, away from old types of thought, toward new goals and toward new sympathies.

As I see it, the whole good-will concept is based upon the principles of appreciation, of sympathy, of respect and of the unfolding data of knowledge, through these agencies, toward a larger vision of the origin and the goal of man.

But, without wishing to descend to controversy, I do feel that it is one thing for a man to present a point of view and to give it an historic setting and, I think, its philosophic justification (as I have tried to do in my differentiation between tolerance and good-will, and another thing to have one get up and simply with a word dismiss it as verbalism. Until you can prove to me that the differentiation I have made between tolerance and good-will is a superficial and an insufficient one, I will not be convinced that the criticism is much more than verbalism.

I am wondering if the previous speaker is familiar with the growth of terminology in relation to the tolerance and good-will ideas? Are you aware that outstanding thinkers are insisting that the term "Religious Liberty" is antedated, as it is coterminous with the idea of tolerance and therefore has no place in the modern world of independent thought and of the right of every individual to his own place in life; and that the term "Religious Equality" is taking the place of "Religious Liberty" on the basis of the unfoldment of the whole concept of tolerance as against something bigger than tolerance?

I

FORTY YEARS OF REFORM JEWISH EDUCATION—ITS ACHIEVEMENTS AND ITS FAILURES

JACOB B. POLLAK

To trace the growth and development of Reform Jewish education in the United States during the past forty years, at least two important factors must be considered: the people who constituted our Reform congregations, their traditions and ideals, and the American environment. Between 1840 and 1888 the Jewish population grew enormously. From 15,000 in 1840 it increased to 800,000 in 1888. The majority of these new comers came from Germany. They had been affected by the cultural reformation inaugurated as a result of Moses Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch. They had acquired the German language, they were being freed from political disabilities from which they had suffered and they began to occupy a more important place in their communities. They attempted to adapt their religious life to the new needs of the day. The Reform movement in Jewry was born.[1]

With the downfall of Napoleon the rights which had been accorded them were denied and particularly after the Revolution of 1848, a period of reaction swept over Europe. German Jews became discouraged. Economic conditions became unsettled and tens of thousands of Jews came to America. Here they were to enjoy equal rights; here they were to enjoy greater opportunities for development and were to be unhampered by political or economic disabilities. To these shores they brought the liberal ideas which they had imbibed in Germany and they were to embody these in the congregations and schools they established.[2]

Practically all the Reform congregations organized day schools for the instruction of their children. In these schools, secular as well as

[1] Philipson, David, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, p. 9.
[2] Margolis and Marx, *A History of the Jewish People*, Ch. 81-83-86-88.

Jewish subjects were taught.[3] They were generally supported by an annual tax levied on the members of the congregation or the pupils were charged special tuition fees. During this period (1825-1860) the American public school was still struggling to win a place for itself in American life. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the public schools became free and non-sectarian, supported by general taxation and freed from the pauper taint which had been associated with them.[4] It was to the public schools that the American Jews began to send their children for their secular education. One by one the day schools connected with Reform Jewish congregations which had been giving secular instruction to their children became Sabbath or Sunday schools, meeting one or two days per week, generally on Saturday and Sunday.

CHRISTIAN SUNDAY SCHOOLS

To understand the new type of school which superseded the day school, it is necessary to trace briefly the growth and development of the Christian Sunday school in the United States. The Christian Sunday school originated in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was at first not a religious school. Its aim was to teach the children of the poor who were growing up in "ignorance and bestiality" to read and write and to form better habits. From England the Sunday School movement rapidly spread to America and Sunday schools were established here as early as 1775. The Sunday School movement, however, did not make much progress here until after 1812. In 1824 the American Sunday School Union was organized in Philadelphia. Its organization exerted a great influence on the growth and development of the Protestant Sunday schools in the United States. The example of this organization undoubtedly suggested the formation of the first Jewish Sunday school in America by Rebecca Gratz.[5]

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[3]Such schools were established in connection with K. K. B'nai Yeshurun, Cincinnati, 1840, Rodeph Shalom, Philadelphia, 1841, Congregation Emanu-El, New York, 1845, Kehillat Anshe Maariv, Chicago, 1853, etc.

[4]Cubberley, E. P., *Public Education in the United States*, p. 128.

[5]Brown, A. A., *A History of Religious Education in Recent Times*, Ch. 3.

THE FIRST JEWISH SUNDAY SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES

The first Jewish Sunday School in the United States was organized by Rebecca Gratz on February 4th, 1838,[6] in connection with the Orthodox Congregation Michve Israel. This school was open to all children in the community. The curriculum consisted mainly of instruction in Bible history and catechism. The same year a Sunday school was organized in Charleston, S. C., in connection with Congregation Beth El and a year later a Sunday School was organized at Richmond, Va., in connection with the Portuguese Synagog of Beth Sholom. Similar schools were established in other congregations or day schools were changed to Sunday schools very rapidly. Thus in 1882, 81 of the ninety-one congregations affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations had Sunday and Sabbath schools.

THE HEBREW SABBATH SCHOOL UNION

For a long time there was felt to be a need for a central organization which would grapple with the many problems which confronted the religious school. The schools were in need of textbooks, trained teachers and educational guidance. At the first council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in Cincinnati in 1873, Isaac M. Wise introduced a resolution which was adopted, that a committee be appointed to report on the "improvement and unification of the Sabbath schools."[7] At the ninth council of the Union, the calling of a Sabbath School convention was authorized and, on June 29, 1886, the first meeting of the Hebrew Sabbath School Union was held in Cincinnati, Ohio.[8] The Sabbath School Union set for itself the task "to provide a uniform system for all Hebrew Sabbath Schools in the United States by promulgating a uniform course of instruction and by training competent teachers."[9] At this convention a curriculum was adopted and it was determined to make a survey of the existing Jewish schools in the United States. The Hebrew Sabbath School

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[6]The Hebrew Sunday School Society of Philadelphia, *Eighty-ninth Annual Report*, p. 19. Richman, Julia. The Jewish Sunday School Movement in the United States, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 12, (1900) p. 563-601.

[7]*Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations*, Vol. 1, p. 87.

[8]*Ibid*, Vol. 3, p. 1988 to 2001.

[9]*Ibid*, p. 1995.

Union continued its activities until 1903 when it merged with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

The Hebrew Sabbath School Union gave itself to the task of providing literature for religious schools and preparing aids for teachers. It published a school edition of the *Book of Proverbs,* selections from the *Book of Psalms,* a book on the *Ethics of the Hebrew Scriptures* and a series of leaflets called *Junior Bible Stories.* The idea for these leaflets was undoubtedly suggested by the example of the International Uniform Lessons which were published by the Protestant denominations as early as 1886. The Hebrew Sabbath School Union also published a guide for Jewish Sabbath School teachers consisting of a series of papers on instruction in Biblical history: *Instruction in Biblical History,* by Dr. K. Kohler; *Religio-Moral Instruction in the Sabbath School,* by Dr. D. Philipson; *On Instruction in the Post-Biblical History,* by Dr. B. Felsenthal; *How to Teach Biblical History in the Primary Grades,* by Rabbi E. N. Calisch; *How to Organize a Sabbath School,* by Dr. H. Berkowitz.

It is difficult to attempt to evaluate the achievements of the Hebrew Sabbath School Union. However, it should be stated that it stimulated the organization of religious schools; its publications were widely used in the Reform Sunday schools and its conventions afforded rabbis an opportunity for the discussion of educational problems.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SYNAGOG AND SCHOOL EXTENSION

The Department of Synagog and School Extension was organized in 1903.[10] Originally known as the Committee on Circuit Preaching, the department has devoted itself to practically every aspect of the educational problem during the 25 years of its existence. It has made propaganda for religious education through its field secretaries, and with the help and cooperation of rabbis, it has organized innumerable religious schools in communities large and small. It is the largest and most influential publisher of religious textbooks for the Reform Jewish school. It has since 1919 published *Young Israel,* a magazine for Jewish children. It has attempted to raise the standards of teachers by the organization of Teachers' Sabbath School Conventions, the organization of normal schools, the publication of Teacher Training

[10] *Ibid,* Vol. 6, p. 5020-4, 5098-5104.

syllabi. It is at the present time engaged in training a group of young men for the specific task of devoting themselves to the work of Jewish education. It has recently organized a research department which is engaged in the study of some of the problems of the Jewish school.[11]

THE COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION

In 1911 a Board of Editors was created to cooperate with the Department of Synagog and School Extension in its literary activities.[12] For many years this Board devoted itself to the publication of additional lesson materals for the Sunday School. New sets of leaflets were published under its direction. In 1923 the Board of Editors became the Commission on Jewish Education.[13] Instead of merely publishing literature for the Sunday school, the Commission has become interested in all phases of the Jewish educational problem. It has published a curriculum for the elementary and high school departments; it has engaged in the publication of a series of textbooks so that this curriculum may function and it is concerned with the problems of youth and adult education.

EXTENT OF JEWISH EDUCATION

In 1888 there were 400,000 Jews in the United States.[14] Since it is estimated that twenty per cent of the population are children of school age, there were about 80,000 children of school age in the United States at that time. What percentage of these children attended Reform Jewish schools? In 1889 the Hebrew Sabbath School Union sent out questionnaires to religious schools then in existence. There were two hundred such schools. Replies were received from 114 schools, showing a registration of 13,576 children or an average register of 119 pupils per school. Assuming the same average register per school in those schools which did not report, there were about 23,800 children registered in the 200 religious schools.

A careful check up of this Survey shows that of the 114 reporting

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[11] Annual Reports of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. 1903-1928.

[12] Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Vol. IV., p. 6861.

[13] *Ibid*, 49th Annual Report, pp. 9287-8.

[14] American Jewish Year Book, Jewish Publication Society of America, 5689-1928, p. 157.

congregations 101 were Reform congregations. Of the 23,800 children attending all Jewish schools about 9,599 or 40.3 per cent were registered in the 101 Reform Jewish schools which reported

There were 4,228,029 Jews living in the United States in 1927.[15] There are thus about 845,600 children of school age. 242,841 or 28.7 per cent are receiving some form of Jewish education. It is estimated that 73,246 are attending Sabbath and Sunday schools.[16] How many of these children are registered in Reform Jewish Schools? In a survey made in 1924 by Dr. E. Gamoran, called, *A Survey of 125 Religious Schools,* it was found that there were 21,044[17] children registered in 121 schools. There were thus 47,264 children registered in Reform Jewish schools in 1924.[18] In 1928 there were 282 congregations affiliated with the Union. Using the same average register per school as we did in 1924, there were about 48,645 children in Reform Jewish schools. In 1889 40.3 per cent of the children who were attending Jewish religious schools were registered in Reform Jewish schools, whereas in 1928 only 20 per cent were attending Reform Jewish schools.

These facts are significant in a number of respects. (1) They make us realize the enormous Jewish educational problem that confronts us at the present time. (2) The number of Jewish children attending Reform schools has quadrupled in the last forty years. (3) The smaller percentage of children attending Reform schools in 1928 is to be accounted for by the changes in character of the Jewish population in the last forty years. In 1889 the Jewish population in America was predominantly German in character. A large proportion of German Jews were connected with Reform congregations. In the last forty years Jews from Eastern Europe have come to America; they have brought with them different educational traditions with the result that 80 per cent of children who are receiving a Jewish educa-

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[15] American Jewish Year Book, 5689, p. 101.

[16] *Jewish Education,* January, 1929, The Cost of Jewish Education in the United States, Cedarbaum, David I., Vol. 1, p. 53.

[17] Gamoran, E., *A Survey of 125 Religious Schools,* pp. 5-6.

[18] This figure is arrived at in the following way: The average register per school in the 121 schools reporting was 172.5 children. Since there were 274 congregations connected with the Union in 1924, 274 multiplied by 172.5 equals 47264.

tion are attending Talmud Torahs, Jewish parochial schools and Sunday schools, connected with non-Reform congregations.

TABLE NO. 1

Extent of Jewish Education in the United States

		1889	1927
Jewish population	A	400,000	4,228,029
Children of School Age	B	80,000—20% of A	845,600—20% of A
No. Receiving Jewish Instruction	C	23,800—29.7% of B	242,841—28.7% of B
No. Receiving Instruction in Non-Reform Jewish Schools	D	14,201—59.7% of C	194,196—80% of C
No. Receiving Instruction in Reform Jewish Schools	E	9,599—40.3% of C	48.645—20% of C
No. Receiving no instruction	F	56,200—70.3% of B	602,759—71.3% of B

COST OF SUNDAY SCHOOL EDUCATION

We do not have any estimates of the cost of Reform Jewish education forty years ago. Since two-thirds of the teachers were volunteer teachers and since 86 per cent of the funds expended by religious schools is paid to teachers, we may conclude that a very moderate sum was then expended on religious instruction in our schools in 1889.

What are the Reform Sunday schools spending today on the religious education of their children and how do these expenditures compare with expenditures made by other types of Jewish schools? The amount of money that congregations spend on the religious education of their children is certainly an index of the interest that they have in this problem. In 1924 forty-five congregations with a budget of $773,366.78 were spending $66,012.65 or about 8.5% of their budgets on their religious schools.[19] Assuming that other congregations are spending at the same rate, Reform Jewish congregations are spending $413,677.08, (This amount is arrived at in the following way: forty-five congregations with a budget of $773,366.78 were spending $66,-012.65 on their religious schools or at the rate of $1466.94 per congregation. $1466.94 multiplied by 282 equals $413,677.08) whereas

[19]Gamoran, E., *A Survey of 125 Religious Schools*, p. 34.

all the Jews of America are spending $8,779,933.00 on the Jewish education of their children.

These facts are important in at least two respects: (1) They indicate the large amount which the Jews of America are spending on the Jewish education of their children. (2) The comparatively small amount which the Reform Jews who undoubtedly represent the most influential and richest element of American Jewry are spending on the religious education of their children. Whereas all the Jews of America are spending $8,779,933.00 on the Jewish education of their children, we Reform Jews are only spending $507,310.00, or 5.8 per cent of this amount on the religious education of our children.

While it is important to know how much the various groups are spending on the Jewish education of the children, it is more important to know how much is being spent on the religious education of each child who attends the various types of schools. Whereas the average cost of the Jewish education per child is $30.00 in the week-day schools, it is only $5.00 per child in the Sunday schools throughout the country. On the basis of the Communal Survey recently made in New York City, it was found that the average cost per pupil in all types of week-day schools was $52.34, whereas the Sunday Schools of Greater New York are only spending $13.14 per child.[20] Our Orthodox and Conservative brethren are spending from four to six times more on the Jewish education of their children. We will only improve the work of our schools as we are willing to spend more on this important activity.

TEACHERS

The success of a school will depend to a great extent upon its teachers. While adequate buildings are necessary, good curricula and methods essential, it is important to emphasize that the success of the school will ultimately depend upon the character and training of its teachers. Without an adequate, well-trained teaching staff, who are professionally minded and who are constantly aiming to improve themselves, the work of the Sunday school cannot succeed. Since children who attend the Sunday school are only under our control from two to two and a half hours per week, it becomes doubly important

[20] Rosen, B., *Survey of Jewish Education in New York City*, Jewish Education, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 84.

that we shall recruit the very best and finest teachers that are available.

NUMBER, SEX, AGE AND NATIVITY OF TEACHERS

In 1889 there were 563 teachers in the schools surveyed by the Hebrew Sabbath School Union. 495 of these teachers taught in the Reform schools. Today there are about 2,538[21] teachers connected with Reform Jewish schools. Our teachers have thus increased by 412.72 per cent.

Women teachers far outnumber men teachers in our Sunday schools. 73 per cent are women and 27 per cent are men. On the basis of a study of 158 teachers in New York City, 61.4 per cent were women and 38.6 per cent were men. Whereas the ratio of number of men to women in the school systems throughout the country is about 12.5 per cent, it is encouraging to note that the ratio of male to female teachers in Sunday schools is twice this number.

The average age of the Sunday School teachers in Greater New York is about 24.3 years. Throughout the country, the average age is probably lower. As the median age for teachers in public schools is about thirty years, it is important for us to realize that we are entrusting the Jewish education of our children to a group of young teachers. We ought to make efforts to attract older and more mature teachers in our Sunday schools.

The great majority of our teachers are native born. Of 158 teachers in Greater New York, 125 or 79.11 per cent were born in the United States. Moreover, thirty of the teachers that were born in Europe spent from eleven to twenty years in America. The proportion of native born teachers throughout the country is certainly as high and probably higher in the remainder of the country.

GENERAL EDUCATION, JEWISH EDUCATION, EXPERIENCE AND SALARIES

The general education of our teachers ranks very high. 93.5 per cent are graduates of either college, normal school or high school or are attending college. Our teachers are better educated than are the

[21] This number is arrived at in the following manner: There were 9 teachers per school in 124 schools in 1925. Since there were 282 congregations connected with the Union in 1928 and assuming that the average school has 9 teachers, we get 2538.

teachers in the elementary schools of the United States. . . . . "The elementary teachers of the country are still on a very low level of training. An accurate statement is not possible, but probably two-thirds are altogether without the development which is to be secured through professional courses in normal school, college or even high school."[22]

There is great variation among the Jewish teachers of the United States as to the amount and kind of training that they have received. Out of 123 teachers throughout the country whose Jewish training was studied, 70 or 56.9 per cent were graduates of our religious schools and had received all their Jewish training there. The teachers in larger cities are better trained Jewishly. Thus in New York City only 25.9 per cent had received their Jewish education by attending or graduating from Sunday schools. It seems surprising that in New York City where there are a number of teacher training institutions and where teachers with adequate Jewish training can be secured, that a substantial percentage of teachers not adequately prepared for their tasks should be found in our religious schools. Many principals prefer public school teachers even when not adequately trained Jewishly. There is no reason, however, why our Jewish training institutions should not produce teachers adequately trained Jewishly and possessing the other important requisites of good teachers, viz: personality, understanding of children and knowledge of classroom procedure.

In connection with the survey of New York Sunday Schools, an attempt was made to find out whether Sunday school teachers were continuing their Jewish education. The teachers were asked to state whether they were pursuing courses at Teacher Training institutions and the Jewish books and periodicals they were reading, etc. A study of these replies would seem to indicate that our teachers are not growing in Jewish knowledge. Rabbis and principals ought to urge teachers to continue their studies so that they may be better prepared for the tasks of teaching Jewish children.

It is estimated that it takes between five and six years for a teacher to reach her maximum efficiency. How efficient are Jewish teachers? Here again there is great variation. In New York City, it was found

[22] Robbins, C. L., *Elementary Education*, Twenty-five Years of American Education, Kandel, p. 243.

that the medium teaching experience was 4.19 years. The teachers throughout the country have not had as much experience as the teachers in New York City. The great majority of teachers, however, have had some experience which they have gained either in Sunday schools or in the public schools where they are engaged.

On the whole the Sunday school teachers of America are poorly paid. The average salary per teacher was $11.55 per month in 1924; in larger cities the salaries are greater. In greater New York a medium salary is as high as $25.00 per month, and in Chicago it is $20.00 per month.

While it is difficult to compare the teacher situation today with that of forty years ago, it is safe to conclude that our teacher situation has improved somewhat. In 1889 two-thirds of the teachers were volunteers.[23] Since there is a high correlation between volunteer teachers and untrained teachers, we may conclude that the great majority of teachers forty years ago were inadequately trained for their tasks. The magazine literature of the period is constantly referring to the fact that the teachers were young and inexperienced. In 1900 Miss Julia Richman writing on the Jewish Sunday school said the following with regard to the teachers of her day:

> "The Sunday School of today is a matter of pride to one who remembers the school of 20 years ago. The teachers today are mainly Americans by birth; and if they know less Hebrew Scripture and Talmud than did the foreigners who taught a generation ago, they know more of children and children's needs. All of the congregations that can afford the expense are now employing only paid teachers in Sunday Schools.[24]

TEACHER TRAINING

The need for improving the status of our teachers has long been felt. At the first meeting of the Hebrew Sabbath School Union, "It was recommended that a complete course of study for normal classes be arranged so as to educate the advanced pupils to become teachers and likewise to enable persons remote from congregations to prepare

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[23] *Proceedings of the U. A. H. C.*, Vol. III, Statistical Report of Hebrew Sabbath School, p. 2502.

[24] Richman, J. The Jewish Sunday School Movement in U. S., *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XII, p. 578.

themselves with the aid of lessons supplied by this course, through home study, for the purpose of organizing and conducting religious school."[25]

To improve the work of teachers, the Hebrew Sabbath School Union published a guide for teachers. In 1903 the department of Synagog and School Extension helped organize a normal school in Chicago which existed for a brief time. With the organization of the Jewish Chautauqua Society in 1893 the work of Teacher Training received greater attention. Founded at first for the purpose of giving adult Jewish education, the Jewish Chautauqua Society soon engaged in the task of teacher training. Beginning with 1897[26] in connection with its annual assemblies, programs were arranged for Jewish teachers. At the fourth annual assembly a summer school chiefly for teachers was inaugurated.[27] From that time the Jewish Chautauqua Society has arranged annual programs for Jewish teachers in various sections of the country. It also published a series of textbooks dealing with Jewish history, religion and methods of teaching the Jewish subjects. For more than a quarter of a century the work of the Jewish Chautauqua Society has been an influence for good in raising the status of our teachers.

Since 1903 the Department of Synagog and School Extension has been interested in the work of teacher training. It has been instrumental in organizing normal schools in many communities. It has been engaged for many years in helping arrange meetings for teachers in various sections of the country. It has published a series of syllabi dealing with psychology, classroom organization and management and the psychology of the various school subjects.

TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

What provisions exist at the present time for training of teachers and their improvement? Of 117 congregations reporting, 24 or 20.5 per cent stated that there are Jewish teacher training institutions in their communities, and twenty-nine or 28.1 per cent reported that they

[25] *Proceedings of the U. A. H. C.*, Vol. III, p. 1992.

[26] Papers presented at the Fifth Annual Session of the Summer Assembly of the Jewish Chautauqua Society held at Atlantic City, 1901.

[27] *Ibid*, p. 20.

had normal classes. [28] Since the survey of 125 schools was made a number of teacher training institutions have been organized in New York, Newark, San Francisco, Columbus, Detroit, St. Louis and Chicago. Undoubtedly other teacher training institutions have been organized. The number of institutions for the training of teachers is thus increasing slowly but surely.

Encouraging as it is to record this progress, we must not be blind to the fact that the provisions for the growth and training of our teachers is totally inadequate. There is urgent need for the establishment of additional training institutions in many communities throughout the country. The success of such schools as the Hebrew Union College School for Teachers and the New Jersey School for Jewish Teachers, would seem to indicate, that other communities can successfully establish such institutions, for they not only cater to those who intend to become teachers, but they are to a great extent schools where many adults come to learn to know and understand something about Judaism. Assuming that we will be able in the next few years to organize as many more Teacher Training Institutions, we must nevertheless realize that a great majority of our communities will still remain without such institutions. We cannot expect teachers to come to New York or one of the other Teacher Training Institutions when the average salary does not even in New York exceed more than about $25.00 per month.

In communities too small for teacher training institutions normal classes should be organized forthwith. There is no reason why a normal class should not exist in connection with every religious school throughout the country where teachers will receive instruction in Jewish subjects and in the principles of teaching. The syllabi prepared by the Department of Synagog and School Extension ought to be of help in this connection.[29] Where communities are too small it will be necessary to train teachers through correspondence courses. The Jewish Chautauqua Society many years ago reached many teachers in this way and the same methods will again have to be utilized.

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[28] Gamoran, E., *A Survey of 125 Religious Schools*, p. 29.

[29] Gamoran, E., *Teacher Training for Jewish Schools;* Gamoran, E., *An Introductory Course in Education;* Pollak, J. B., *Classroom Organization and Management;* Maller, Julius, *Educational Psychology;* Gamoran, E., *Methods of Teaching the Jewish Subjects.*

An analysis of the activities of the rabbi would reveal that at least one-third or probably one-half of his time is devoted to educational work. With the exception of a few larger communities who can afford to engage educational directors or where specially trained principals are available, the burden of carrying the educational work of the congregation rests on the rabbi. He is in charge of the school; he must devise curricula, train teachers; he conducts classes for young people and adults. One would expect that before leaving the theological seminary he would be prepared to understand and grapple with the educational problems that will confront him in his own congregation and the larger community.

Our rabbinical seminaries have too long neglected this important problem. The Hebrew Union College offers no course in Jewish education for undergraduates. In the last few years the summer school of the Hebrew Union College has inaugurated a department of education, which offers a few courses in this field. The Jewish Institute of Religion offers two courses in Jewish education. Certainly none of the Jewish seminaries in America are giving sufficient time to this important subject. Every Rabbinical Seminary should prepare its graduates adequately for the educational tasks which await them.

CURRICULUM

After teachers, the curriculum is undoubtedly the most important problem of education. The school has been organized in order to provide children with varied and valuable experiences, so that they may grow and develop along socially worthwhile ends. Since we no longer regard the purpose of the school as disciplinary but as fitting children to lead more fruitful lives, the curriculum must make provision for stimulating and enriching experiences.

There are at least two theories with regard to the curriculum prevalent in America today. The one theory regards the curriculum as a number of subjects carefully organized and logically arranged. The other regards the curriculum as a series of purposeful activities and projects in which children are to engage. These activities and projects are based on the needs, abilities, interests and capacities of children. The first theory emphasizes discipline and knowledge as the ends of education, the other theory the importance of giving the child

worthwhile experiences which will cause growth and which will prepare for full participation in adult life and social usefulness.

While the curriculum of the public school has never caught up with the demands of American life during the past century,[30] its curriculum has nevertheless undergone a remarkable change and transformation. With education conceived democratically and as a social process, with the greater knowledge of the needs, interests and capacities of children, with the remarkable changes in American life during the past quarter century the curriculum of the public school has attempted to meet the new needs and changed conditions of present day America. The curriculum has been enriched; new subjects and materials have been added; the needs of the child and of society have been more carefully considered. It is estimated that more than 1,000 schools are engaged in the continuous task of revising their curricula.[31]

American Jewish life during the past forty years has changed to a marked extent and grown to a remarkable degree. The Jewish population has increased by more than one thousand per cent and the number of children has grown in the same proportion. American Jewry has become rich and powerful. It has spent millions of dollars on synagogs, schools and centers. The cry of distress of our brethren abroad has been answered with an extraordinary liberality. From a position of unimportance a quarter of a century ago, American Jewry today occupies a place of leadership.

Forty years ago the majority of Jews were of German and Portuguese origin. Since that time millions of Jews from Russia and Eastern European countries have come to our shores. They have brought with them new outlooks on Jewish life; they have built Talmud Torahs and Parochial schools devoted to a more intensive type of Jewish education. American Jewish life today presents a variegated appearance woven out of many strands and fabrics which our children somehow must get to know and understand.

The problems of American Jewish life have changed. Forty

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[30] Rugg, H., *The School Curriculum and the Drama of American Life*, Twenty-sixth Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part 1, p. 3.

[31] Rugg, H. & Curtis, G. S., *A Critical Appraisal of Current Method of Curriculum Making*, Twenty-sixth Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, p. 425.

years ago the Jew's problem was one of adjusting himself to the American environment; he was a foreigner and had to acquire a new language and new habits. The Jew set himself to this task with great zeal and in a few years achieved this goal. The problem of Americanization no longer exists as far as Reform congregations are concerned. Our task today is so to integrate the Jew into American life that he will not lose his identity.

The demands made on the religious school are greater than ever before. Many of our homes have become secularized. We can no longer depend on them to give our children that Jewish background which is necessary if the religious school is to do its work effectively.

Are our schools aware of the new demands which are being made on them? Do our curricula, textbooks and methods reflect the changed conditions and the new demands of American Jewish life? Table No. 2[32] gives a picture of the curricula of the religious schools of forty years ago, and Table No. 3[33] gives a picture of the curricula of the religious schools of today. A study of these two tables shows that there is very little difference between the curricula of forty years ago and the curricula of today. Certain subjects such as catechism have practically disappeared from our present day courses of study, and subjects such as Current Events have been introduced into the modern curriculum. The emphasis has been and still is on materials to be acquired, on subjects to be learned.

We have not developed courses of study which deal with many problems and difficulties which confront our children and young people. Our materials are extrinsic and do not touch their lives; our worship services are often routine and stereotyped.[34] The time has come for us to face these facts, to attempt to reorganize our courses of study and prepare textbooks which will deal with these pertinent facts. This will involve on the one hand a careful study of children's needs and interests and on the other hand a thorough study of what is most significant and important in Jewish life. Our courses of study will then center about real and genuine problems that arise out of the needs of children and young people. Our children will acquire Jew-

[32] See Appendix A.
[33] See Appendix B.
[34] Lazaron, M. S., *Religious Worship for Children*, Year Book C. C. A. R., Vol. 38, pp. 344-360.

ish knowledge and information, but it will be knowledge which will be worthwhile and will help them in the solution of their problems and become instruments "for the enrichment and control of experience."[35]

SUBJECTS TAUGHT AND TIME ALLOTMENTS

What subjects have been taught in the religious school during the past forty years and how much time has been devoted to them? The main subjects of study have been and still are Jewish History, Bible, Customs and Practices, Hebrew, Religion and Ethics. While the average school of today meets about two hours per week,[36] the average school of forty years ago met for about three and one-quarter hours.[37] The time given over to the Jewish education of our children has thus decreased during the past forty years. Many congregational schools met on Saturday and Sunday. Today the great majority of our schools meet only one day a week.

The survey of 1899 does not indicate the time devoted to the various subjects. How much time is given to the various subjects in our schools today? Table No. 3[38] gives a list of the subjects taught in the Sunday schools in Greater New York and the amount of time devoted to each subject. Jewish history is the most important subject of study, from 45 to 60 minutes being devoted to it. Hebrew comes next in importance, from 35 to 60 minutes being spent on it, and Religion comes third, from 15 to 60 monutes being devoted to it. With the exception of music in the first six grades and Current Events in the seventh and eighth grades, little time is devoted to the other subjects.

Obviously we cannot even teach the subjects of our present curriculum in this limited time. It certainly will be impossible to realize the enriched program suggested above. The crying need of the religious schools is for more time. Instead of a one-day a week school, it is necessary that we at least have an additional session for religious instruction. No one realizes more than I do the difficulties involved in such a change. For a half century parents and rabbis have be-

[35] Bower, W. C., *The Curriculum of Religious Education*, Ch. 7.
[36] Gamoran, E., *Survey of 125 Religious Schools*, p. 13.
[37] Statistical Report of Hebrew Sabbath-Schools, *Proceedings of the U. A. H. C.*, Vol. III, p. 2502.
[38] See Appendix B.

lieved that the one day a week school would be able to educate intelligent Jews and Jewesses. The experiences of recent years have shown that this is not the case. We must, therefore, give ourselves with renewed vigor and energy to re-educating our people to a realization of the importance of introducing an additional session per week in our schools.

It is encouraging to note that a large percentage of communities are introducing compulsory week-day instruction in their schools. Many congregations have introduced a confirmation department consisting of the upper grades in the school. Children in these grades must attend sessions an additional afternoon per week. While this solution is far from satisfactory, it is nevertheless a beginning and should be emulated by other congregations.

CURRICULA FOR INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

While children attending schools superficially seem to be alike, we know that they differ greatly in intelligence and in ability to profit by classroom instruction. On the basis of the Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon tests for measuring general intelligence, which were administered to about a thousand children ranging in age from five to 14 years, Terman discovered that children differ greatly in general intelligence. The intelligence quotients of these 905 children ranged from 56 to 145.[39] Moreover, theree is a high correlation between the intelligence quotient of children and the character of their school work.[40] Thesee facts would seem to indicate that we cannot expect all children to profit to the same degree from classroom work as taught at the present time.

The modern school has attempted to meet this situation by adapting the work of the classroom to meet the individual needs of children. Uniform courses of study and many of the present day textbooks have been found inadequate to meet the needs of children of different abilities. Progressive school educators are, therefore, giving themselves increasingly to the task of making the work of the class fit the needs of the child. Some of the methods used are the following: (1) Coaching laggards, (2) Giving slow children additional time to master

[39] Terman, L. M., *The Measurement of Inteligence*, Ch. 4, p. 65 and seq.
[40] *Ibid*, p. 73.

their subjects (3) Grouping children on the basis of ability (4) Differentiated assignments (5) The so-called Dalton Laboratory Plan (6) The so-called Winnetka Plan.[41] These and similar plans all have one purpose in mind; the adaptation of the school to meet the needs of children and to afford them the opportunity to profit by the instruction which the school offers them.

Our schools seem to be unaware of this whole problem. Our curricula are undifferentiated and slow and bright children are expected to achieve the same results. Many children seem uninterested in their work and there is extensive retardation and elimination. This is to be explained in part by reason of the fact that our curricula are not properly adjusted to meet the needs and capacities of our children. In the large schools a great deal can be done to remedy this situation. Where there are enough children to form more than one class in a grade it is very simple to group children into classes on the basis of intelligence and ability. Moreover our curricula ought to be differentiated and more expected from bright children and less from dull children. In small schools where it is impossible to have more than one grade per class, slow children ought to be coached and assignments to children differentiated. These changes will require careful thought on the part of the rabbi and principal and will probably need additional teachers, the reorganization of our curricula and the actual introduction of new methods in our schools but if we are to meet the needs of our children adequately, we will have to experiment along these lines during the next few years. The results of such experiments should be brought to the attention of other schools so that we may benefit by their success or failure.

An attempt has been made to adjust the Hebrew curriculum to the individual needs of children. Last year the *Hamithlamed*,[42] which consists of a series of goals or assignments enabling each pupil to work at his own pace, was published by the Board of Jewish Education of Chicago. These goals have not been used in enough Sunday schools to be able to ascertain whether this particular text is adapted to Sunday school needs. On the basis of experimentation in a number of

[41] The 24th Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, *Adapting the School to Individual Differences*, Part II, Sections 1 and 2.

[42] *Hamithlamed*, Board of Jewish Education, Chicago, Ill.

Sunday schools last year, we found that children made rapid progress and seemed to find greater interest in Hebrew studies than heretofore.

It will take many years before we can produce textbooks along lines suggested above, but it is encouraging to note that we have made a beginning during the year. *In the Days of the Second Temple,* by Dr. Jacob S. Golub, has appeared.[43] This book is interesting because it takes the period from 586 to 70 and instead of recording the important facts in mere sequential order, it arranges them about a series of problems which are related to the needs and interests of children. In connection with this text, laboratory material is being prepared which will enable children of different capacities and abilities to work at different rates. The same author is now engaged in preparing a second volume dealing with Abraham to 586. Books of similar kind will undoubtedly assist us in reorganizing our activities on the basis of children's needs and abilities.

MAKING OF CURRICULA

How are the curricula of our schools made? An examination of curricula shows that they are practically all made according to a very simple pattern. The subjects which are taught in the Jewish school are generally divided into so many parts and assigned to the various grades. No attempt has been made to construct a curriculum based on the needs of children or on the study of the important problems of Jewish life. Because we have overlooked these two facts our curricula are out of touch with children's needs and are of little value in preparing children to participate in Jewish life.

Two attempts have been made to formulate a curricula of broader and more comprehensive scale. The Hebrew Sabbath School Union at its first convention outlined the subjects of study for the Jewish school.[44] In 1922 the Commission on Jewish Education adopted a curriculum for the elementary and high school departments after two years of careful consideration. In 1923 the curriculum was published and in 1924 the curriculum was again revised.[45] This curriculum

[43] Golub, J., *In the Days of the Second Temple,* Dept. of Synagog and School Extension.

[44] *Proceedings of the U. A. H. C.,* Vol. III, pp. 1991-92.

[45] *A Curriculum for Jewish Religious Schools,* (revised edition, 1924), adopted by the Commission on Jewish Education, Dept. of Synagog and School Extension.

was devised for a two-day a week school and has unfortunately not been introduced in many schools. The curriculum therefore to a great extent remains a paper curriculum, but in view of the care and thought with which it was devised it deserves careful study.

On the whole this curriculum represents a step forward in curriculum making for the Reform Jewish school. While it is to a great extent subject centered, while its emphasis is primarily on materials to be learned, it introduces new materials and stresses subjects which have not received the attention that they should. In the primary department the emphasis is on activity centering about the Jewish holidays. Hebrew occupies a much more important place in this curriculum than it does in the curricula of our schools today. The formal study of history is to begin in the senior department where it properly belongs. Such subjects as Current Events, the study of the Jewish community all find place in this curriculum.

The curriculum however is entirely too brief. Compared with the curricula in the better public schools it appears to be unduly sketchy and meager.[46] A curriculum should not only list the various subects of study and the various grades in which they should be found, but it should indicate the knowledge expected, the attitudes which the course of study should develop, the habits and skills which should result. The aim and object of each one of the subjects should be clearly stated and the goals to be achieved by the various subjects should be carefully formulated. Various approaches and projects should be suggested and if possible, outlined for the classroom teacher. In brief, a curriculum ought to be of much greater help to the teacher than our present curriculum is. This is especially important in view of the fact that most of our teachers are untrained. While the publication of good textbooks will undoubtedly be of help to our teachers, this alone will not solve the problem. We must have a curriculum so helpful and suggestive that the teacher will understand its purpose and be helped in the realization of its goals.

The time has arrived when we ought to give ourselves anew to the task of curriculum revision. Many preliminary studies and researches will have to be made in order to determine on the basis of

[46] See for example, *Courses of Study of City of Baltimore*, Dept. of Education, 1924.

children's needs and Jewish life what ought to be included in our curricula. The materials selected will then have to be carefully validated so that they may be placed in proper grades. The outcome of the curricula will have to be carefully tested and evaluated. It is only as we work in such a way that we will develop a curriculum which will meet the growing needs of our children and which will prepare them to lead a rich Jewish life.

METHODS

Methods[47] are ordinarily a reflection of the prevalent philosophy of education and of the personality of the teacher. Since the philosophy of Jewish education in recent times has to a great extent been determined by the philosophies of education in the countries where the Jew has lived, it is but natural to find that the methods in vogue in the Jewish school have in great part reflected these influences. The Jewish schools of a half century ago were predominantly under the influence of German philosophy and methodology. The early Reform rabbis and teachers came from Germany; they had imbibed German philosophic and educational theories. The disciplinary and knowledge conceptions of the curriculum predominated in these early schools. According to these conceptions human nature must be curbed and subordinated; emphasis was placed on passivity and authority. Materials were not chosen with reference to their social usefulness. Knowledge was the center of the learning process.

An extensive use of the catechism in every type of Jewish school a quarter of a century ago is an illustration of the emphasis on knowledge and discipline as ends in themselves. While the first Jewish catechism appeared as early as 1587 in Venice it was not until the eighteenth century that catechisms for Jewish use appeared in large numbers. As the Jew began to participate more in the life of the peoples about him and as the time devoted to Jewish instruction diminished, the need for catechisms which would present in brief form the important principles of the Jewish faith became necessary.[48]

The first catechism published in America was a translation of

[47] Maddox, W. A. *Development of Method, Twenty-five Years of American Education*, Kandel, I. L. Ch. VI.

[48] Maybaum, S., *Methodik der jüdischen Religionsunterrichtes*, pp. 3-4.

Johlson's *Shoreshe ha Dat* which appeared in 1830[49] In 1839 Isaac Leeser published a catechism for young children based on Kley's *Catechismus der Mosaisch Religion.* After this many catechisms appeared. In 1889 the catechism most used in Reform Jewish schools was Isaac M. Wise's *Judaism—Its Doctrines and Duties,* published in 1880. An examination of the catechisms in our Sunday schools shows that they were more or less alike. They consisted of a series of chapters or lessons generally arranged in question and answer form, dealing with the doctrines and practices of Judaism. The language was generally abstract and difficult—much beyond the comprehension of children. The catechism tended to emphasize memorization and acquisition of materials. It was assumed that the child who had memorized and could repeat the contents of the catechisms or the questions and answers contained therein had received an adequate knowledge, understanding and preparation for entrance into Jewish life. We now know that while knowledge is important it does not necessarily guarantee practice; hence the catechism and the catechetical method have practically disappeared from the Jewish school of today.

A quarter of a century ago new influences began to make themselves felt in the general field of education. Under the influence of Pestalozzi and Herbart, American education began to reckon with the needs of the child. The child was trained to observe, to use his senses to express, analyze and reflect on his ideas, and self-activity was encouraged. The effects of this movement were felt by the Reform Jewish school. Kindergarten classes were introduced, expressional activities found their way into schools and the so-called Herbartian five steps became the method used by many teachers in their classroom work. The teachers' books published by the Department of Synagog and school Extension and the Lehman & Kent *Junior Bible* all show influences of the Herbartian method.

The Herbartian method made the teacher and the materials of instruction the center of the learning process. It did not sufficiently reckon with the child, his purposes and needs. In certain types of lessons, when abstract meanings and generalizations are the goals of the lesson, it is still of great value, but when the creative and dy-

[49] *Jewish Encyclopedia, Catechisms,* Vol. 3, p. 621.

namic aspects of modern education are understood it must be replaced by methods better adapted to meet the needs of modern life.

During the last decade we have witnessed a remarkable change in our conceptions of method. Psychology has given us a great deal of knowledge with regard to children, and the learning process, and we have acquired a great deal of information with regard to the most economical ways of teaching the various subjects based on careful studies and investigations. These influences are becoming evident in the methodology of the modern school. At the present time there are two prevalent notions with regard to method. On the one hand method is regarded as the most economical manner of teaching the materials of the curriculum; on the other hand method is primarily a question of how to stimulate and guide the child so that he shall best call for and exercise all his possibilities."[50] The Reform Jewish school needs to take into consideration these two important aspects of method. It must first ascertain the most economical ways of teaching the various materials of the curriculum. In what grade, for example, would it be most economical to introduce the teaching of Hebrew? What method shall be used—the Phonic or the whole method? Which of the methods will prove most satisfactory in the Reform Jewish school—the translation method or the natural method or a combination of these two methods? In what grades should the formal study of Jewish history be introduced? These and similar questions with regard to all the subjects taught in the Jewish schools need to be ascertained on the basis of careful study and research.

On the other hand, it is of utmost importance that the Jewish school should realize the implications of the broader conception of method.[51] According to this conception, the act of learning is a complex affair. The child does not simply learn to read or write, but there are certain important concomitants which accompany the learning process.

Thus a child is not only learning Jewish history or Hebrew, it is also forming attitudes with regard to the teacher, the school and Judaism. Certainly in our schools, we are concerned not only with the teaching of a few skills and facts, but we are particularly concerned

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[50] Kilpatrick, W. H., *Tendencies in Educational Philosophy*, pp. 89, 90.

[51] Kilpatrick, W. H., *Foundations of Method*, Ch. I.

with the formation of attitudes which will result in Jewish living. Our aim therefore must be not only to quicken the understanding, but to inculcate ideals and deepen the purposes of our children. It is only as we understand this broader conception of method, that we will be able to realize these goals. While beginnings in our schools have been made by the introduction of the project method[52] and the utilization of the problem method in some of our work, our achievement in this respect is still of a very elementary nature. During the next few years we must develop projects in activities so rich and fruitful in nature that they will help us further the goals of our religious schools.

CHILD ACCOUNTING

The Sunday School is primarily concerned with the child. For a few years the Jewish child is entrusted to its care and if it is to achieve all that it should, it must know and understand its children and as far as possible its activities must be so organized that it will provide every child with opportunities for growth and development and prepare every child to lead a happy and fruitful Jewish life.

1. SEX

In 1889 there were 9,599 children in the Reform Sunday schools of the United States; today there are 48,645 children in our schools. In 1889, 48.7 per cent were boys and 51.3 per cent were girls. Today 46.4 per cent are boys and 53.6 per cent are girls. Our schools have been and still are reaching a larger percentage of girls than boys.

2. DISTRIBUTION BY AGE[53]

We have no information with regard to the ages of children who attended our religious schools forty years ago. Table No. 4[54] gives the distribution of children arranged by ages from 6-18 in twenty Sunday schools of Greater New York. If this distribution of ages holds true in the schools throughout the country, it is significant and should be studied carefully. It reveals the following facts:

(1) We are not reaching as large a number of children below the age of eight as we should. In the public schools of New York 27.3

[52] Gamoran, E., *A Symposium on the Project Method.*
[53] Rosen, B., *Survey of Jewish Education in New York City*, Ch. V. Pupils. Classification, Progress and Schedules.
[54] See Appendix C.

per cent of the children are below eight years of age, compared with only 13.6 per cent below the age of eight in our Sunday schools.

(2) The ages 8-9 through 13-14 constitute the dominant years of attendance in the Jewish School. The ages 9-10 with a percentage of 14.4 per cent; 10-11 with a percentage of 13.1; 11-12 with a percentage of 14.2; 12-13 with 15.2 per cent constitute the most important years of attendance in the Jewish school.

(3) Only 6.9 per cent of the children in our Sunday schools are 14 years of age and over.

In view of the fact that our schools are only one-day a week schools, it is important that we get children as early as possible and keep them in our schools as long as possible. We should bend every effort to hold our children between the ages of 14 and 18.

How normally are the children distributed in the religious school on the basis of age? No study covering this problem has been made for the children attending religious schools throughout the country. We have, however, certain information with regard to the distribution of children by ages in twenty Sunday schools in Greater New York. The recent communal survey of Jewish schools made in New York City set up the following age grade standards for children attending week-day Hebrew schools and Sunday schools.

GRADE	AGE STANDARD
1st	6-9
2nd	7-10
3rd	8-11
4th	9-12
5th	10-13
6th	11-14
7th	12-15
8th	13-16

A child who is in a grade within the age limits set up as normal for that grade is considered "normal age." A pupil who is in a grade below the normal age is considered "under age." A pupil who is older than the normal age set up for that grade is considered "over age." For example, the age limits for the first grade are 6-9. A child between the ages of 6-9 who is in this grade is classed as "normal." A child who is younger than 6-9 is considered as "under age." A

child above the age of 9 is considered "over age." Table No. 5[55] gives an interesting picture of the age distribution of children by grade of twenty Sunday schools of Greater New York. The heavy lines on this table indicate the children who are in the proper grades on the basis of age. Those above the heavy lines are under age and those below are over age.

A summary of the number of under age and over age pupils is given on the bottom of the table and the proportionate percentages of average and under age children indicated. This is also summarized in tabular form in Chart 1.[56] A study of this table and chart shows that the distribution by age in the religious schools is quite normal and compares favorably with age distribution in the public school and is much more normal than in the Hebrew schools of Greater New York.

An examination of this table also reveals that the range of ages in the various grades is entirely too great. Why for example should grade 1 have children ranging in age from 6-13, grade 2 from 6-7 through 12-13, grade 3 from 7-8 through 14? Our Sunday schools should certainly be more careful in the placement of their children and the factor of age as well as achievement should be given due consideration.

3. DISTRIBUTION BY GRADES

This table also gives a picture of the distribution of children in the various grades of the Sunday school. Again this table reveals that the distribution of children by grades is quite normal in the Sunday schools of Greater New York. 7.4 per cent of the total number of pupils are in the first grade, 9.5 per cent in the second grade, 15.4 per cent in the third grade, 16.3 per cent in the fourth, 12-2 per cent in the fifth, 10.6 per cent in the sixth, 6.8 per cent in the seventh and 3.4 per cent in the eighth grade. Again it is important to inquire how this normal grade distribution is achieved. This more normal grade distribution is to be accounted for by two facts. (1) The Sunday school holds its children much longer than does the week-day school. (2) Children as they enter the religious school are

[55] See Appendix D.
[56] See Appendix E.

distributed on the basis of age and public school grade instead of on the basis of achievement, in the great majority of Sunday schools.

4. ATTENDANCE

The degree of regularity with which children attend the religious school is certainly a good index of the condition of a school. How regularly do the children in the Sunday schools attend? In the survey of 125 schools the average attendance in the 113 schools was reported as 84.4 per cent. A study of the attendance of four religious schools of Greater New York made by examining the attendance records of pupils indicated that the average attendance was only 73.4 per cent. The latter figure probably gives a more correct picture of the attendance in our religious schools. Since the average regularity of attendance in the public schools is 92.6 per cent, there is room for much improvement in the attendance of our religious schools.

5. ELIMINATION

It is not only important that children attend school regularly but that they attend from year to year. What proportion of our children are eliminated annually and what proportion complete the work of the elementary department? The survey of 125 schools showed that in 46 schools with a registration of 10,799 pupils, 992 or 9.1 per cent were eliminated annually. The study of elimination by grades contained in that Survey indicates that 70.1 per cent of children in the religious schools complete the eighth grade.[57] This figure is arrived at in the following manner. For every hundred children in grade one the percentage of children remaining in the various grades is computed. These figures fail to take into consideration the number of new children who enter each grade annually. Thus grade 1 may start with 100 children, but when grade 2 is reached 10 per cent of these children may have dropped out of the class, while 12 per cent or more new children may have entered the second grade bringing the registration of this grade to the same or a higher figure. In computing the elimination of children it is necessary to compute not only the registration in the various grades from year to year but the number of children eliminated and the number of children added. It is only in such a way that we will be able to determine the holding power of our schools and the amount of elimination.

On the basis of a study of the elimination from two schools in

Greater New York, the elimination was much larger than the Survey of 125 schools indicated. In view of the fact that these findings are based on only two schools, we should not generalize with regard to this matter. There is need, however, for a careful study of this whole matter. It is only as we give increasing thought to these and similar problems that we will make progress in the classroom work of our religious schools.

CONCLUSION

The most important features of the work of the Reform Jewish school have now been surveyed. What then is our conclusion with regard to the work of the Reform Jewish school during the past forty years? What are its strong and what its weak points? Obviously it is not easy to answer a question such as that. Critics and defenders of the Sunday school have been numerous. We need not even go outside of our own camp to find that opinions with regard to the value of the Sunday school have differed. Thus Dr. Enelow writing of the Reform Jewish school said the following: "That the Jewish Sunday school in America has done valuable work in the past, there could be no doubt. Though the work may not have been perfect (What human work is—particularly in the spiritual realm?), it has been a failure by no means. It has produced considerable literature. It has created text books; some not so bad."[58] Dr. Max Raisin recently said the following: "As it seems to me there is no remedy for the disease, what I mean to say is there can be no improvement for the Sunday school as long as it remains a Sunday school, it is necessary to utterly uproot it from its foundation, but it is not possible as conditions are now."[59]

While such sweeping defenses and condemnations are interesting, they are of little practical value in helping us appraise the work of our Sunday schools. Instead of praising or condemning the Sunday school, we need to study it more carefully and appraise its work and then attempt to improve it. It is only in this way that we will make real and genuine progress. What then are some of the strong and weak points of the present-day Reform Jewish Educational System?

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[57] Gamoran, E., *A Survey of 125 Religious Schools*, pp. 8-11.

[58] Enelow, H. G., The Jewish Sunday School, *The Jewish Teacher*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 37.

[59] Raisin, Max. The Sunday School, *Schivele Hachinuch*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1925, p. 31.

(1) The schools connected with Reform congregations have become an integral part of the educational work of the Reform synagog. The number of schools and the number of children have grown enormously during the past forty years. Every Reform Congregation now regards it as its duty to maintain a school as part of its educational activities.

(2) The physical facilities of our schools have been improving. Forty years ago practically all of the schools were housed in basements and while a great many schools are still to be found there, more attention is being given to the need for adequate school buildings. In the last few years an increasing number of congregations have built school buildings to house their educational work. In view of the fact that many new school buildings will be erected during the next few years, it would be well to work out certain building and classroom standards which ought to be made available to congregations.

(3) Reform Jewish schools are not spending enough on their educational work as compared with other groups. At the present time we are spending about 10 per cent of our congregational budget. We probably ought to spend between 25 and 40 per cent of our congregational budget on the educational activities of our synagogs.

(4) While the teacher situation is improving the problem of securing adequately trained Jewish teachers is still our most pressing problem. We must bend every effort to organize adequate Jewish teacher training schools and we ought to do everything we can to improve the status of our present teachers by forming normal classes and encouraging our teachers to grow in Jewish knowledge.

(5) Our curricula are not the product of careful thought, research and experimentation. They have been made haphazardly without consideration of the needs of children and Jewish life. It is time that we undertook to develop curricula that will reckon with these factors.

(6) The methods in our schools are still to a great extent formal and disciplinary. Our instruction can be improved by the introduction of the individual method in Hebrew and the project and laboratory plans in teaching of history, Jewish customs and ceremonies.

(7) The Sunday schools need more time for the Jewish education of their children. While week-day instruction is being introduced into certain schools, the great majority are doing nothing with regard

to introducing additional sessions on week days. We will be unable to give our children the minimum essentials of Jewish education until we substitute the two-day a week school for our present Sunday school.

(8) We should give careful thought to the whole question of proper gradation and promotion in our religious schools. Parents and children should realize that it is only on the basis of knowledge and ability to profit from classroom instruction that children will be promoted. Every principal should make a careful study of his school by age and grade and be sure that his pupils are properly placed.

(9) The Jewish school has been slow in developing objective measurements to ascertain the achievements of its pupils. It is encouraging to note that achievement tests for Reform schools in Jewish history and Bible will soon appear. Such tests will be of help to the rabbi, principal and pupils and will enable us to compare the achievement of pupils in one school with other schools.

(10) The progress of the modern school has been due in great part to research and experimentation. There is need for a careful study of many of the aspects of the Reform Jewish school. Experimentation and objective evaluation of our work are necessary if we are to make progress.

(11) There is need for careful supervision of the work of the religious school. It is only as our schools have intelligent supervisors who understand the aims of the Reform Jewish school, the needs of children and know how to help teachers that our classroom work will be enriched. Most rabbis because of their training and experiences are unfamiliar with this whole problem. In Chicago a number of Sunday schools are being supervised by the Bureau of Jewish Education. The work of our school would undoubtedly be improved if specially trained supervisors could regularly visit them and suggest ways to principals and teachers of improving their activities. In large cities where there are a number of religious schools special supervisors can be engaged for this purpose. In smaller communities supervision can be arranged by such an organization as the Department of Synagog and School Extension.

American Jewry is giving earnest thought to the problem of Jewish education. Educational institutions are being surveyed,[60] plans for the betterment of the quantity and quality of Jewish education are being considered. American Jewry realizes that it is only as it raises a generation of educated Jews and Jewesses that it can survive. We, too, must give earnest and serious thought to our educational problems. We certainly cannot afford to remain self-satisfied. If Reform Judaism in America is to continue to grow, it must develop an educational system, which will raise a generation of loyal and devoted Jews and Jewesses. This is our educational task for the next forty years.

[60] See the Survey of Jewish Education in New York City.

TABLE No. II.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS TEACHING SUBJECTS IN 1889

APPENDIX A 114 schools

SUBJECTS	NO. OF SCHOOLS TEACHING SUBJECTS
HISTORY	110
HEBREW	68
CATECHISM	51
RELIGION	40
BIBLE	30
ETHICS	14
SINGING	12

TABLE No. III

Table Showing Subjects Taught in Sunday Schools—Range and Median in Minutes.

SUBJECT	Kindergarten			1st Year			2nd Year			3d Year			4th Year			5th Year			6th Year			7th Year			8th Year			Confirm.			High School		
	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low
HISTORY	60			60			120			180			90			60			90			60			60			60			75		
		45			50			60			60			50			60			60			60			60			60			60	
	6-2		15	8-4		30	11-0		30	14-4		30	17-1		30	17-3		30	15-2		30	7-4		45	5-2		30	1-1		60	6-1		45
RELIGION	30			30			30			60			60			60			30			60			45						45		
		30			30			30			30			15			60			15			60			45						45	
	3-2		30	4-5		15	4-0		15	9-7		15	10-2		15	6-4		15	12-2		15	4-6		30	1-1		45	0-1					45
HEBREW	60			60			60			60			60			180			60			60			60								
		50			45			35			45			30			60			30			60			50							
	3-0		30	6-1		30	6-0		30	10-2		30	15-0		15	15-0		30	14-1		15	5-4		30	2-1		45	0-1					
BIBLE													60			30									30						60		
														35			30									30						50	
													2-0		15	1-4		30							1-0		30				2-0		45
CURRENT EVENTS										15												30			30						60		
											15												30			30						45	
										1-3		15	0-1			0-2			0-3			1-3		30	1-1		30				2-0		30
GAMES	15																																
		15																															
	1-0		15																														
MUSIC	30			30			15			15			30			30			30														
		30			20			15			15			20			30			20													
	5-0		15	4-1		15	1-0		15	1-0		15	2-0		15	2-1		30	2-0		15												
DRAWING	30																																
		30																															
	2-0		30	0-1																													

(Small figures give No. of cases; last figure is No. of cases reporting the subject without specifying No. of minutes.)

TABLE No. IV.

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN EACH AGE GROUP IN TWENTY SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK CITY

APPENDIX C

AGE GROUP	ENROLLMENT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT
Below 6	55	1.3
6-7	149	3.7
7-8	342	8.6
8-9	353	8.8
9-10	576	14.4
10-11	525	13.1
11-12	567	14.2
12-13	607	15.2
13-14	476	11.9
14-15	159	4.0
15-16	68	1.7
16-17	19	.5
17-18	24	.6
Not stated	78	2.0
	3998	100.00

TABLE No. V

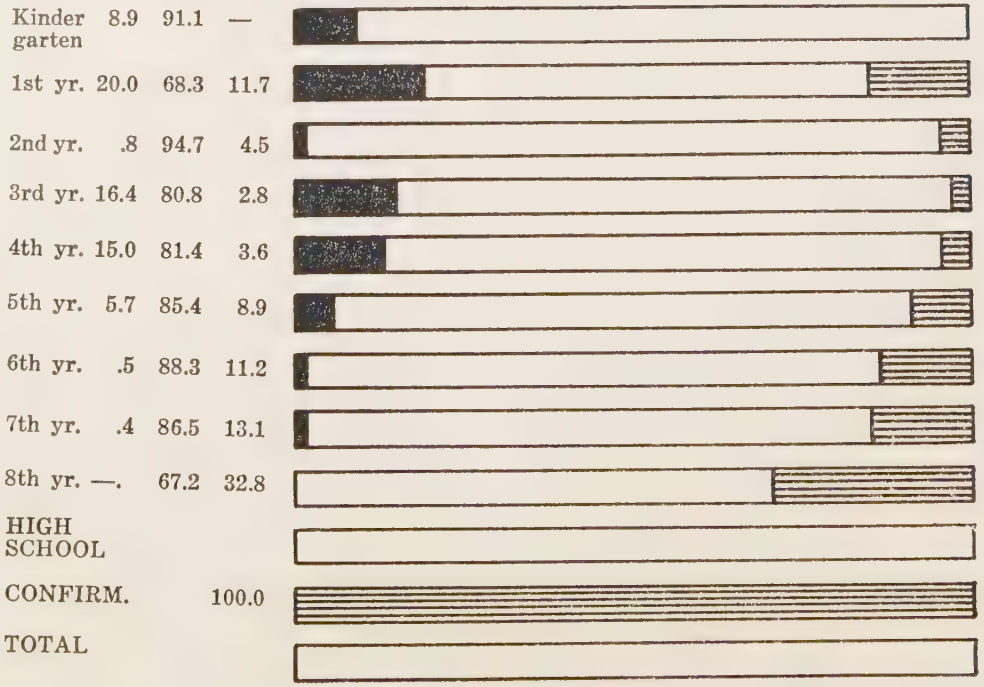
Section and Grade Summary of Age of 20 Sunday Schools. APPENDIX D

AGE	KINDER-GARTEN			1st Year			2nd Year			3d Year			4th Year			5th Year			6th Year			7th Year			8th Year			HIGH SCHOOL			Confirm.			SPECIAL CLASS			NOT STATED			GRAND TOTAL		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
BELOW 6	9	12	21	20	14	34																																	29	26	55
6 - 7	25	30	55	35	38	73	10	7	17																									1	1	3	2	5	73	78	151
7 - 8	21	18	39	28	51	79	88	82	170	12	5	17	1	1	2																					2	5	7	152	162	314
8 - 9	6	5	11	19	27	46	71	71	142	66	46	112	13	8	21	3	4	7																1	1	2	5	7	12	184	169	353
9 - 10				11	24	35	21	23	44	116	120	236	122	73	195	9	27	36	1	2	3													2	1	3	15	9	24	297	279	576
10 - 11				2	11	13	-	2	2	66	73	139	88	73	161	67	64	131	26	18	44	1	-	1										10	18	28	2	4	6	262	263	525
11 - 12				-	7	7	1	-	1	33	21	54	80	88	168	68	76	144	53	52	105	17	17	34	6	2	8	6	5	11				16	11	27	5	3	8	285	282	567
12 - 13				-	3	3				17	17	34	40	33	73	69	66	135	60	84	144	70	64	134	22	14	36	1	-	1	11	17	28	4	9	13	3	3	6	297	310	607
13 - 14										1	10	11	7	15	22	14	12	26	62	59	121	45	48	93	31	35	66	17	34	51	10	36	46	16	22	38	1	1	2	204	272	476
14 - 15													-	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	4	12	9	21	64	55	119	3	4	7				4	-	4	87	72	159
15 - 16													-	1	1							1	-	1	1	2	3	39	49	88							8	-	8	49	52	101
16 - 17																												10	3	13							6	-	6	16	3	19
17 - 18	C																											12	12	24										12	12	24
TOTAL	61	65	126	115	175	290	191	185	376	311	292	603	351	293	644	230	250	480	203	216	419	137	130	267	72	62	134	149	158	307	24	57	81	49	63	112	54	34	88	1147	1180	3127
UNDER AGE				20	14	34	10	7	17	12	5	17	14	9	23	12	31	43	27	20	47	18	17	35	28	16	44	47	44	91	24	57	81									
NORMAL	55	60	115	82	116	198	180	176	356	248	239	487	290	234	524	204	206	410	175	195	370	118	113	231	44	46	90	99	88	187												
OVER AGE	6	5	11	13	45	58	1	2	3	51	48	99	47	50	97	14	13	27	1	1	2	1		1				12	12	24												
%UNDER AGE				17.4	8.0	11.7	5.2		4.5			2.8			3.6			8.9			11.2			13.1			32.8		30.1			100.									
%NORMAL	90.0	92.2	91.1	71.3	66.3	68.3	94.3		94.7			80.8			81.4			85.4			88.3			86.5			67.2		61.9												
% OVER AGE	10.9	7.8	8.9	11.3	25.7	20.0	.5		.8			16.4			15.0			5.7			.5			.4					8.0												

APPENDIX E

CHART No. I.

PER CENT OVER AGE, NORMAL AND UNDER AGE IN EACH GRADE



J

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE REFORM RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

SOLOMON A. FINEBERG

The topic assigned to me is very similar to the topic assigned to Rabbi Pollak. To state the "achievements and failures" of the Reform religious school necessitates some "critical evaluation." In order to avoid duplication that might result from this similarity of our subjects, Rabbi Pollak and I conferred together and defined our separate spheres. He has brought together a mass of important detail and through his own research and investigation has augmented our knowledge in regard to present day conditions in our Reform religious schools. Rabbi Pollak has indicated quite clearly what progress has been made in our congregational schools in regard to organization, administration, and the curriculum of education. My approach will be very different. I have selected four major issues which seem preeminently important because they bear directly upon the very aims and objectives of our schools. These we are not yet in position to treat statistically or quantitatively. In discussing worship, character training, the treatment of myth and legend, and the child's attachment to the Jewish people, I am fully aware that these do not constitute the only matters of importance, and that critical evaluation might well be extended to other aspects of the Reform religious school. Yet the success or failure of our schools must depend in large measure on how well we deal with these issues.

I recognize the difficulties and hazards involved in considering fundamental issues which concern the very purpose of the Reform religious school. No question or problem confronts Reform Judaism that does not likewise affect the Reform educational institutions. Whatever principles we accept as Reform rabbis, and whatever attitudes we may take in regard to important phases of Jewish life must in turn be reflected in our schools. Whatever we may teach in our schools will likewise in the end influence the very nature of Reform Judaism. Wherever the leaders of Reform Judaism are to any extent

in disagreement on religious and educational problems we must be the more anxious to consider these issues, if we are to serve the best interests of the Reform religious schools. Anyone who attempts a critical evaluation of our schools must face the possibility of disagreement in regard to the very basis of the assumptions which must underlie any such evaluation. Bearing this in mind, I shall attempt to present separately the four issues I have selected for consideration.

One of the main functions of any religious school is to promote a spirit of worship and reverence among its pupils. The Jewish school must not only quicken the desire to pray, but must turn the child's devotion into Jewish channels. The use of certain expressions, rituals, and ceremonies, the reference to certain traditional concepts, must find an echo in the heart of the child. He is to form a conscious attachment to the Creator, and this devotion must be all the more deeply rooted because of its distinctly Jewish content. We have here a twofold purpose: fostering the devotional life of the child, and leading him to prefer Jewish theology, Jewish background, Jewish associations, in his public and private worship.

Few rabbis are satisfied with the extent to which the Reform religious schools have fostered the prayer impulse in their pupils. Neither ritual prayer nor spontaneous prayer have received sufficient impetus from attendance at the Reform religious school. It is an open question whether a spirit of genuine prayer might be the better secured among children were we to depart further than we have done heretofore from our accepted adult forms of worship. While some have become impatient with the traditional rubrics and prayer-forms, in so far as children's services are concerned, others have become all the more entrenched in their belief that the children's service must be a replica of the adult service with very little modification.

No argument on this subject can be well directed unless there is sufficient recognition given to the emotional and other factors which are present during the rendition of a service. We must recognize all of the circumstances surrounding a children's service, the manner in which it is conducted, the dignity and grace lent to the occasion by those in charge, and the regularity with which such services are held. A prayer service is like music; it depends upon much more than the score that is used. Like recorded music, a prayer service may be in-

terpreted artistically or apathetically, with or without inspiration, regardless of the ritual or the wording that may be employed. Original prayers and spontaneous prayers may likewise be highly effective or they may even be drab. Failure in cultivating the devotional spirit among our children can by no means be ascribed solely to the deficiencies of our existing children's services. No one ever did or ever will prepare a service the words of which will wing their way into the heart of the child, unless that service is conducted in a proper atmosphere.

The very fact that some of our Reform religious schools have been able to conduct a children's service that has been beautiful and inspiring, with nothing better at their command than the meager materials at present available, is indicative of the possibilities of winning the hearts of children with a Jewish service. Were we to examine the specific instances of success and failure in this matter, we would find almost invariably that the most unsatisfactory results were obtained in those instances where the reading of a service from the back of the Union Hymnal has been part of the program every week, carried out perfunctorily, sandwiched in between announcements, without any attempt at pageantry, formality, beauty or grace. I fear that some of these performances are worse in their effect than no service at all. They detract from the child's piety; they reflect badly on the Jewish service. If the entire assembly period each week cannot be devoted to a well arranged service, properly conducted, progressing from start to finish in an atmosphere of reverence, it were better to have one service every three or four weeks, to which most careful preparation should be given by a children's choir, ushers, and those who are to read the service and deliver the sermonette. Our Reform religious schools as a group, have not placed sufficient responsibility upon the pupils, especially in matters of worship. The children should be made responsible for everything, including the decorum. Teachers and superintendents should, whenever possible, be silent spectators at the children's service. Yet children must be trained for their tasks and only those who are well qualified should be placed in charge. A service should never be slipshod or seem unimportant.

While we must avoid the fallacious assumption that an improved set of printed services for children will insure successful worship,

there can be no doubt that the Reform religious school has been handicapped by the grave limitations of the worship services available for the use of their younger pupils. Let me reiterate and elaborate on the suggestion made last year in the excellent paper read before the Conference by Rabbi Lazaron, that the Conference prepare a Children's Service Book, comparable to the Union Prayer Book. All of our Reform religious schools could make some improvement in their worship were there a suitable prayer book for children. Page 172 in the Union Hymnal is a poor place to turn for a service. Imagine what an outcry would arise were we to limit all of the liturgy and prayer materials for our adults to a few pages in the back of the Hymnal. Since we shall be dependent for some time on those services in the Union Hymnal, I would suggest for psychological reasons that, in the next edition, the children's services be printed at the beginning instead of the end of the volume. Whatever reasons may exist for the present arrangement, I believe we owe it to our children, who have as yet only the Hymnal, that we dignify those services and lend to their importance by placing them at the beginning of the Hymnal.

Into a book especially prepared for the children we should put such personal private prayers for children as now appear on two pages of volume one of the Revised Union Prayer Book. In offering private devotions for children we should recognize different age levels. Many of our adolescents know no other night prayer than the childish forms they were taught to lisp at the age of three. The Children's service book must also include numerous services to provide for various occasions and circumstances, including Sabbath, weekday, Rosh Ha-Shonah, Yom Kippur and perhaps other holyday services.

In the preparation of a children's service book and other books dealing with children's worship let us not make the mistake of handing down something from above, through our own preconceived notions of what should prove effective. If the Reform religious school is to be true to its own liberal, democratic ideals, and if it is to employ the wisest educational procedure, the writers of children's prayers for the Reform religious school should work in close cooperation with selected children of a religious turn of mind, whose comprehension and reactions are not beyond childhood experience. Some of these children can offer excellent criticisms. Thus far the children themselves

have been left too much out of reckoning in planning the services intended for them. Worship can best be promoted among children by guiding their own efforts, by gaining their active cooperation, rather than by making them passive recipients for purely adult products.

Nowhere is the disparity between our Reform religious schools greater than in the methods of teaching employed. Even were every-one of these schools to adopt the standard curriculum that has been provided by the Commission on Jewish Education, the classroom procedure would vary greatly, so much so that results obtained would have little similarity. In one school a well equipped teacher would be introducing the material with endless variety, stimulating the pupils to enthusiastic activity, knitting the group together into a social unit wherein the finest attitudes and social expressions would come to the fore. In this instance a group of children would be spending meaningful, delightful hours in a stimulating atmosphere under Jewish influence. In another instance there would be, even as there is now in some of our classrooms, a dull teacher who would first be scolding the class for not having read the assignment in the textbook, and who would then call upon one pupil to tell the story, then another, then the next and so on until the hour had passed: a monotonous repetition of the story which would drive any normal child to distraction. Fortunately, with the introduction of paid, skilled teachers, there has been a constant decrease of such uninspired, unimaginative, unprofitable teaching.

It is utterly unfair to the child to permit poor teaching methods in the religious school if teachers can be secured who can do better. More important than whether it is the Cycle plan that is used in the school, or a modified project method, or the Dalton plan, or one of the other modern methods, is the teacher's handling of the lesson. A thorough evaluation of the Reform religious school would be a criticism of what is being done in each classroom by each teacher, for it is the individual teacher's technique that plays the greatest part in getting desired results. Where it is utterly impossible within a small community to secure better teachers we must condone inferior efforts. It is a fact, however, that in many instances where better teachers are available, incompetents are retained for various reasons to the de-

triment of the child. The willingness to dismiss an incompetent teacher, even where personal relationships are involved, is as essential in a religious administrator, as is the ability to select good teachers. The religious school would be improved to considerable extent were it thoroughly understood that the child's education is the one supreme object of the school.

A live active curriculum can never be conducted by a lifeless, unimaginative teacher, and it is a live active curriculum that we need, especially if we are to get results in character development, or if we are to impart anything more than a little information. Let me illustrate what can be done and is being done in the best of our Reform religious schools, by describing a project carried out with boundless enthusiasm by a group of ten and eleven year old children.

They were studying the period of the United and Divided Kingdoms and were correlating ancient history with modern developments in Palestine. At the first session the teacher, Mrs. J. Marrus, asked how many of them had been away during the vacation. This opened the subject of travel and all had some experience to contribute. Then the teacher asked some one to relate the story of Aladdin's lamp. This magic lamp was interpreted as symbolic of the human imagination. The suggestion was then made that the class might take an imaginary trip to Palestine, and all were eager to go on the voyage. They were instructed to get all possible information regarding the ocean voyage.

Among the many things brought to class the following week was a passport which one of the children had borrowed from the German maid at her home . The class proceeded to make their own passports, with identifying photographs. The next step was to visit a steamship and one day the twenty-two members of the class were transported by automobile to the steamship Mauretania. A steward took them through the whole boat and answered profuse questions on an endless variety of subjects, all of which information the pupils entered into their note-books. Guides were then selected from among the pupils who would conduct the class through each of the countries through which they would pass on the way to Palestine. The guides had to qualify on the basis of the geography they had learned in school and their readiness to undertake further study. At each of the next four sessions one of the pupils came heavily laden with picture books

and charts ready to escort his comrades through one of the European countries. The teacher supplemented each of these travelogues with information about the Jews of that country. Meanwhile study had been begun of the period of Biblical history that was to be covered. No textbook was used, but copious use was made of the blackboard, charts and maps. Games, dramatizations, contests and various forms of interesting drill were used to insure that this historical information was well learned. This historical study was never neglected.

Having reached Palestine in the second month of the class sessions, the children were conducted further by their own guides from city to city, visiting the various places of historical interest. A young woman who has been to Palestine was brought to the class. She showed them many kodak pictures and donned an Arab costume. The children learned a few songs of the Chalutzim and even sat on the floor as they vizualized themselves in a circle of pioneers. Meanwhile the "log" of the class was being carefully kept. Each guide furnished an account of his part of the journey. Here are some headings from the "log": "Jerusalem at Last," "Bethlehem," "Haifa," "Tel Aviv," "Purim in Tel Aviv," "A Day in Jerusalem." "Mount of Olives," "Jericho." In these articles, prepared by individual members of the class, are frequent references to Biblical history.

An interesting feature of the completed "log" are the pictures and designs which the children culled from newspapers and magazines. They were alert throughout the year for any material that would contribute to their journey. An interesting commentary on the lasting impression made by such a curriculum is the fact that a month after school had closed one of the pupils sent the teacher an article from a magazine on archaeological discoveries that had just been made in Palestine. Biblical research had become a live interest to these little children and Bible scenes had become vivid. Biblical history had taken on new significance as they were able to relate all events to the geography of Palestine. I have known children to be bored by lantern slides of Palestine, but to this group one session that was devoted to such lantern slides was an occasion of great excitement, and many were the questions called out to the teacher by different pupils. For the closing exercises they prepared a series of shadowgraphs, illustrating their trip, and the objects thrown upon the

screen were made by the children outside of school hours. This class, by the way, were not asked to do "home work" in the accepted meaning of that term. The whole class never undertook the same assignment. Individuals did things for the class. Yet each pupil spent more time outside of the religious school on behalf of the class project than would have been given to so-called "home work." In addition to this crowded program this class prepared and presented in the assembly a series of tableaux, illustrating Emma Lazarus' poem, "Gifts."

Whether we are to use such methods as were employed in this class, or whether we are to continue a system of routine recitations, lectures, and a little individual handwork as the program of the classroom is vastly important because method is the key to character training. Not the curriculum, nor the amount of talking about virtues, is the determining factor in developing character. It is the method of instruction, the classroom procedure, that determines the extent to which desired character traits are acquired. Educators are becoming increasingly aware of the futility of discussing virtues without leading the child to give them concrete expression through his own actions. One may know theoretically about good and evil and not do the good thing at the proper time. Preaching without opportunity for practice, where children are concerned, is like learning to swim away from the water.

Here lies the explanation of the discrepancy between the oft repeated claims of the religious schools, Christian as well as Jewish, that they are potent agencies for character development, and the discoveries of the Character Inquiry, which found that among the many children tested there was practically no difference in conduct between those who had and those who had not attended Sunday schools. Very few Sunday schools thus far have made character real and vital for their children by calling upon them to do characterful things for one another in the classroom and outside of it. In such a program as I have described the children are actively engaged in a common enterprise, in which their resourcefulness, their initiative and their sympathies are enlisted. Herein they find the joys and satisfaction of assuming responsibilities and discharging them creditably; and their energies are directed into a group undertaking. Only in such an

atmosphere of enthusiastic activity can the few hours spent in the religious school each week create a lasting impression. The Reform religious school has shared the failure of other schools, secular as well as religious, in considering the ideal classroom one in which the children sit quietly in passive inactivity. The new spirit engendered in the classroom by modern educational methods will surely influence the Reform religious schools to advantage.

More than sixty years ago, Kaufmann Kohler, of sainted memory, penned these lines: "Is it not imperative that children be taught nothing in the name of religion which the next hour would be contradicted or nullified by the teacher of the natural sciences? Shall we, by our attitude, help make religion ridiculous, or undermine it?" It is at this point that our Reform religious schools are not reform at all. Most of them are thoroughly orthodox. Certainly most of the textbooks that have been furnished for our use might as well have been written in the eleventh century. In the teaching of myth and legend as though it were fact, in the offering of stories to young minds, which they accept because they have as yet no basis for comparison, we have been making the religious school appear a place "where one learns fairy tales in the guise of truth." The pulpit and the religious school in our Reform institutions are utterly at variance in the matter of miracles.

The mere translation of the Bible into English does not make for Reform Judaism. Putting into the hands of children legendary accounts when they are too young to raise questions is a poor basis for making Reform Jews. You may be sure the question will be asked later, even if they are avoided or turned aside in the earlier grades. These questions regarding the accuracy of certain accounts are certainly being asked by the children in their teens, and the more readily they have accepted such stories as valid history, the more resentful and bitter they are during adolescence. In no instance should we begin the education of a child along lines which require unlearning later. Modern psychology has at last thrown off the yoke of that absurd idea of intellectual recapitulation, which assumes without any justification whatever, that each child must go through the same stages of mental outlook through which the race has passed. We know now that children properly trained can begin with a thoroughly modern

approach. We should no more create in the child a primitive outlook in its early years in regard to miracles and supernaturalistic phenomena than we should give it savage concepts in regard to ethics and morality. Of course the dear little things listen eagerly and are tremendously impressed. Anything seems truthful when one has not yet acquired any evidence to the contrary. They would be just as wide-eyed and awed if one told them that all Chinamen eat their children, or that in Africa elephants grow on trees. For any adult to encourage belief among little ones in matters which he himself does not believe, to convey the impression that such things are true even by mere taciturnity, is utterly out of keeping with the spirit of Reform Judaism.

I am fully aware of the difficulties involved in the rewriting of our textbooks and the training of our teachers to present the biblical material which we ourselves now hold to be myth and legend, in such a way that their values will still be retained. To be sure the Passover means more because it has been associated with the biblical account of the crossing of the Red Sea, and Chanukah means more because of the cruse of oil. Were we simply to eliminate all of these stories our curriculum would suffer greatly thereby. But I look quite in vain in the books furnished for our Jewish religious schools such lines as these from Blanchard's "How One Man Changed the World."

He has described the temptation of Jesus by the devil. The author continues: "Like what happened at the Jordan, so in this case the best way Jesus could tell about it was in what we call figurative language. That is to say, he described what was going on in his mind as though it were something that one could have seen had he been there. We have to ask what these pictures mean, because there was not really any evil creature there with Jesus. They did not go to the Temple. There is no mountain from which one can see more than forty miles of country. It is not very easy for boys and girls to understand, but unless they do understand it, they cannot understand Jesus. Just as you are tempted by bad thoughts, bad desires, so Jesus was tempted. And the bad thing he was tempted to do was to claim to be the spirit of a great national hero, unlike all other men, whom God would care for and protect better than he did other men."

There is a frank facing of the problem. "There was not really any evil creature there with Jesus. They did not go to the Temple." It

is time that we faced our problems of interpretation squarely in the same spirit. There is not a six year old child of normal intelligence who could not appreciate our stories of myth and legend, while being told frankly by a skillful technique that the story did not actually happen thus but is a highly picturesque account of a truth. I shall not say more on this subject as I am preparing a dissertation on it. I can only emphasize the fact that we have already estranged many boys and girls of keen perception and intellectual honesty, by pursuing an "ostrich" policy in regard to issues which sooner or later must arise in the mind of the child. If we spend the available funds for books which only mislead our pupils we shall have a still sadder reckoning when they reach maturity. It is high time that our Reform religious schools cease to inculcate orthodox conceptions. We, of all people, should not encourage gullibility in little ones.

The Reform religious school has suffered to considerable extent by reason of the strong reaction in Reform Judaism against Jewish nationalism. True, in some of the schools, this effect has not been felt; in a few there has been no opposition to Zionism or even to a mild nationalism. In the main, however, our Reform religious schools have been so much opposed to all racial or nationalistic conceptions of Judaism that the reaction may have gone further than has been realized. Israel of the past has been given recognition as the people of the Bible, our ancestors, the priest people. Israel of the present, living Jewry of today, has been barely considered. I am not pleading for Zionism or any other ism. I believe our Reform religious schools have acted very wisely and correctly in taking their stand as essentially and primarily religious institutions. The major emphasis in our Reform religious schools belongs where it has been placed upon Judaism as a religious way of life. Yet in the attempt to divorce ourselves from the nationalistic conceptions or purely cultural interpretations of Judaism, in our opposition to the irreligion of certain groups of Jews, our religious schools have gone much further than was necessary in neglecting Israel as a living people. We cannot succeed in giving Judaism its full significance without recognizing its relationship to the Jewish people of today, nor can I predict a full expression for the Judaism of our children unless these children become linked in loving loyalty to the Jewish group. It is not enough

to arouse their appreciation for Israel of the past; they must be fully conscious of an attachment to modern Israel, an attachment that rests on something much nobler than a reaction to anti-Semitism.

I find that the average graduate of our Reform religious school knows almost nothing about modern world Jewry, its problems, its needs, its hopes. Moreover, he is often less sympathetic toward the bearded Jew from another land than he is toward a stranger of a different people. He is almost resentful that there should be Jews who are unlike him in cultural and social qualities. He has heard considerable about sympathy for the downtrodden and oppressed, but he cannot translate this sympathy readily into concern for the fate of other Jews. This marks a great departure from the historic attitude of the Jew. Our survival as a group of co-ordinate human beings has always been necessary, and is just as necessary now, for the perpetuation of the Jewish religion. That survival as a group has been due to a sense of brotherly responsibility among Jews. In recent catastrophes we have not failed to discharge these responsibilities. But if my observation is correct, and I have studied the matter carefully, our young people are losing this sense of inter-responsibility. The implications of such a changed attitude are very ramified. The Jew who loses the sense of attachment to Israel is the more likely to lose his attachment to Judaism.

It is necessary, but not enough, that we introduce current events somewhere in our curriculum. There must also be activity on behalf of Jewish enterprises, and these must include local, national and international movements, even when religion is not the dominant note, for Jewish survival of any kind leaves the door open for Judaism. Pogrom and starvation must not be the only situation in Jewish life beyond the seas to which our youth shall be led to respond. Aside from the Jewish loyalty that may be thus fostered, such procedure widens the horizon of the child's philanthropic, humanitarian and social outlook. This is not tribalism; it is internationalism. The Christians take advantage of their missionary movements to bring into the Sunday school classroom a wealth of interesting material. We, who have brethren in all lands, could enhance our teaching materials by giving Jewish movements here and abroad more frequent and more sympathetic attention. Jews today are enacting stirring dramas

of tragedy and of hope on a tremendous scale, under striking conditions. The Reform religious school is not taking advantage, as it should, of the news from the arenas of struggle and rebirth. In many instances we are failing to create a bond of sympathy between the individual child and his people.

Summing up, then, let me say, first, that our Reform religious schools have not succeeded adequately in promoting Jewish worship; and one of the chief causes of this failure has been the lack of suitable materials for children's services, such as a children's service book may supply. Secondly, the possibilities for character training have not been sufficiently developed, nor the greatest degree of interest aroused in our pupils, chiefly because backward methods of instruction have been too frequently employed. More of modern educational method, and especially activity on the part of the pupils, is urgently needed. Thirdly, in regard to that discriminating faculty which draws the line between fact, myth and legend, we have been thoroughly frank with adults but it has been too late. We have depended on their unlearning what has been taught them in our own religious schools, and this leads to resentment. It is essential if we are to create a sympathetic understanding of Reform Judaism that we teach our children to discriminate in the earlier grades. Fourthly, we have reacted so strongly against nationalism that we have failed to recognize properly the child's relationship to the living Jewry of today. We have been content rather with attempting to create some relationship between the child and Israel of by-gone ages. For many valid reasons we must develop interest in modern Jewish movements, including the philanthropic, and the cultural, as well as the religious. I have assumed that the purpose of the Reform religious school is to develop worshipful, characterful, discriminating, loyal Jews, and these are the main avenues toward that goal.

I do not want to give the impression that the Reform religious school has a record only of failures. That is far from the truth. I have good reason to say that compared with other denominations our schools have done really well. If I have stressed those points at which some change now seems necessary, it is because we have been acquiring new insights into some of our problems. This is a much healthier state of affairs than smug content that would keep us in old

ruts. It has been impossible in the space of a paper to consider other vital issues which likewise need careful consideration; but I do believe that by giving thought to the most fundamental problems, by daring to examine the most consequential issues, we shall continue to improve our Reform religious schools.

Rabbi Maurice H. Harris: I wish to compliment the Conference on the splendid presentation of the great subject of Religious Education given this morning. Without wishing to make any invidious distinctions, I consider it one of the most valuable sessions we have had so far. We are particularly indebted to Rabbi Pollak, who has given us the data to which we may have occasion to refer in our work during the year, and to Rabbi Fineberg, for the stimulating presentation of the work done by him in his congregation at Mount Vernon. I think we all must agree with Rabbi Pollak that no matter what be our subject, no matter what be our textbook, the success or failure of our religious school is dependent on the quality of our teachers. While these teachers should have the religious and pedagogical preparation, that alone is not sufficient. I think we all find that it comes down to a question of personal equation—it is somehow the peculiar character, the nature, the exuberance of the individual that decides whether the subject shall be presented in a dull and lifeless manner or whether it shall be full of emotional appeal. That has been our experience in many years.

I was surprised that Rabbi Fineberg, in saying we should bring a knowledge of modern Israel as well as of ancient Israel to our young people, overlooked what is really being done along these very lines in what we call Current Jewish Events. Current Jewish Events is now a part of the curriculum of almost every school, and there we do present what is happening to Israel today; not the history that Israel made, but the history that Israel is now making. I was also rather surprised that Rabbi Fineberg found difficulty in the

fact that teaching the miraculous with regard to the early books of the Bible which children will have to unlearn in their later years. I know that that was an evil in the past but hardly applies today. When I was a very young man, I was asked by a member of my school committee to write a biblical history in which the miraculous was not taught or was explained in a natural or symbolic manner, hence the textbook that I then prepared. I believe that most Jewish text books used in reform congregations endeavor to teach the miraculous in a way that corresponds to our modern viewpoint. Not that this is an easy matter. It is one of the most difficult things to present that which is miraculously, even though beautifully portrayed in the Scripture, in a way to harmonize with our conception of truth. I believe further that not only should we teach children nothing but what we believe the truth, but that in the older grades we should explain to them how myths arose and how the miraculous was conceived in a day when the reign of law was not understood. Finally, for the formation of character, I am sorry that neither of the speakers dwelt on what is being done for training our pupils in philanthropy through inducing them to bring contributions weekly for the different charitable and philanthropic institutions which we desire to aid. We make that a very important part of the school work of my congregation, and every month the children vote on the particular institutions to which their weekly donations should be contributed.

Rabbi Joseph Silverman: To my mind what is wrong with the wrong school is not the teacher, not the curriculum, but the Rabbi. You must know what you want to do with the children. Giving them knowledge is not enough. You must give them *spirituality.* No principal, no teacher, no rabbi can give the children spirituality unless he has it himself. I have seen schools that are right and I have seen schools that are all wrong and my experience has been that the wrong school was headed by one who was not spiritually minded. You cannot fool children. You may fool the adults,

but the children take with them what you bring to them. If you bring God with you, you will carry God into the lives of the children. If the rabbi does not bring God to his school, all the experts will not help.

Rabbi G. George Fox: I missed a reference to the background of the homes of those who attend our religious schools. I find in studying the absentees and ascertaining the reasons for absence, that it is usually indifference or apathy on the part of the parents. We can work on our children from the kindergarten up but what I have been trying to ascertain is how can we make parents understand that religious school training is a very serious factor in the life of the child. I have tried various methods for interesting the parents. I have sent them personal letters and I have organized circles of the parents. Recently, I adopted a plan which I thought would be of interest to you. We gave an exhibit of the handwork of the children. Starting with the children of the first grade who put into clay and cardboard the things that impressed them in their studies, we worked on up to a group of ten year old children who got from the Jewish encyclopedia a plan of Jerusalem and worked for two months until they had made a perfect representation of the illustration from the Jewish encyclopedia. We held this exhibition from Friday evening until the following Monday. It brought the largest assembly of parents of Sunday School pupils that we had ever had. The parents did not realize the work which their children were doing. I cannot agree with Rabbi Fineberg, however, that we should attempt to explain to children of six or seven by modern scientific explanations, phenomena of which they will not hear until their high school or university days. The understanding of the earlier stories can be left to the time when the child progresses from the kindergarten to the high school age.

Rabbi Solomon Foster: I would refer to two points touched upon by the speakers. Before we can draw conclusions as to the proportionate expense incurred by the Reform group

as compared with the Orthodox in maintaining religious schools, we must know several facts, not so easy to secure. First, the cost of buildings and maintenance of the Orthodox schools as compared with the Reform. We must remember that the cost of our religious schools in the Reform group is included in the maintenance of the Temples as a whole. The salary of the Rabbi must be considered as compared with the salary of the superintendent or the *melamed*—most of the Orthodox groups, especially in the small schools, have no rabbi at all. And part of the cost in the Orthodox school goes for secular education which is quite unknown to us

I would say a word about the statement of Rabbi Fineberg in focusing attention upon Nationalism as a means of attaching our children to Israel. It is true we want to make our youth feel that they are part and parcel of Israel, in the small community as well as in the international Jewish life, but I do not believe it is necessary to stress Nationalism as an exhibition of what we mean by loyalty to modern Israel. The speaker in warning against ancient myths in the Jewish life inadvertently emphasizes another myth, which some of our people today are creating in political nationalism. This will not develop that sound and constructive influence for Jewish unity which we all feel we need.

Rabbi Edward N. Calisch: The former speaker has well said that the trouble lies more in the home than in the school—that the Jewishness has departed from our homes. We have recognized this fact, and in our school are trying to reach our homes through the school. We are reaching the parent through the children by telling the children of the beauty of ceremonies, such as lighting the Sabbath candles, etc. In spite of opposition at first, we have succeed in reintroducing the custom in many homes. Where formerly there were probably not more than ten percent of the homes that lit their candles on Friday evening, through the children we have reached the stage where nearly ninety-five percent now light the Sabbath candles in their homes.

Similarly the number of Seder services has increased greatly. In regard to reverence and worship, we have the custom that before we send children to their rooms at the close of assembly in the morning, we stop a moment for a silent prayer. I ask the children to stand quietly and think a prayer. It is the most solemn and impressive moment of the entire school period and when they go to their class rooms, the children and teacher go with a sense of reverence and with a receptive attitude toward the studies they are about to take up.

Rabbi Barnet R. Brickner: One of the most valuable contributions of this convention has been its recognition of the growing discontent with the religious school among the rabbis and laity and the need to build a new kind of religious school. Perhaps one of the most important things that we did was when we created the Commission on Religious Education and engaged an expert to direct its work. It seems rather strange that our President, himself a member of the Commission on Religious Education, should decry in his Message, the value of the expert in connection with our work. There has just appeared, under the auspices of this Commission, one of the best textbooks of Jewish history that has yet been published. I am referring to the book by Dr. Golub, who, I believe, is an expert and who is sympathetic to Reform Judaism as every expert in Jewish Education must be sympathetic to every phase of Judaism. It seems to me that what this Conference needs is not to decry the expert but rather to ask for more and more experts. One of the greatest difficulties with our Reform religious school, it seems to me has been the fact that very few graduates of the Hebrew Union College get much training in the field of Religious Education. I am unable to understand why there has not been added to the faculty of the Hebrew Union College a professor of Religious Education.

Referring to the remark made by Rabbi Fineberg, in regard to teaching miracles, it seems to me that the difficulty lies not so much in teaching miracles as in attempting to

teach children up to the seventh grade scientific history. After the seventh grade, you might go back and begin again to restudy and re-evaluate the stories which you have told of the Jewish people from the Bible days to the present time. The real problem that creates the difficulty in the minds of our young people is that the theology which we teach is not in agreement with modern thought in the fields of science and philosophy. What we need is to re-state our concepts of God and the soul, and immortality, and prayer, and not wait for laymen to tell us what we believe. Frequently the Rabbi preaches a theology from his pulpit completely out of agreement with the theology of the Union Prayer Book and with the theology taught in our religious schools. What we need to do is take our teachers and re-mould the theological notions which they formed as children and then they can teach the children a theology that later on they will find consistent with their whole intellectual outlook on life.

Rabbi James G. Heller: I often think that the attitudes of men towards the problems of Judaism and of Jewish education are the result of dispositions rather than of convictions. I was much struck by the omission of what seems to me the critical question in evaluating the record of the Reform religious school. One cannot judge it solely by curricula, by teaching staffs, or by the other criteria adduced by the speakers of this morning. The school must be judged in relation to the totality of Jewish life, and in the light of the history of Reform Judaism in America. It can be judged only by the quality of the men and women who have come out of it, how they stand in respect to Judaism today,—what kind of a generation we have reared. Education is not an end, but an instrument devised by society for the transmission from generation to generation of a certain social heritage. To try to judge it without relation to that heritage, and without relation to the social conditions from which it springs, is to arrive at a totally unreal picture. We must study religious education as it is related to the home, to the development of the Jewish community.

Now, I for one, am willing to admit that, judged by the people we have educated in our schools, we have—in the large—failed. In Cincinnati we have had three or four generations of Jews who have come out of our religious schools. Many of them are still loyal to Judaism, and have become leaders in our congregations. But anyone who truly observes must be struck by the fact that whatever loyalty they possess was derived from the home and not from the school. Our schools did not succeed in inculcating in them a genuine knowledge of Jewish history or of the principles of their faith.

It is very easy to point to the magnificent buildings we have reared, to the salaries of our teachers. But when we come down to the actual work done by our schools, to the characters they have developed, then many facts confront us which should give us pause. We as rabbis ought to eschew the kind of self-delusion which is so common among us, of solacing ourselves by grasping at non-material details. What we ought to be concerned about is the correlation of the Reform school to the living reality of Jewish life in this land. We are much too complacent, merely because we have not done this, too ready to say that we have done well enough. We shall not have done well enough, until we have faced and met our problem. As long as the Jewishness of America is largely from immigrants, what right have we to speak of our achievements!

Dr. Emanuel Gamoran: Forty years is the age of understanding. It is most appropriate, therefore, that our deliberations concerning Jewish education should reflect a genuine understanding of the educational situation, and should be characterized by the spirit of fairness which the spirit of understanding might normally be expected to reveal.

What is the purpose of the Jewish Religious School? If I were asked to state it briefly, I would say that it is to enable Israel to live as a creative people. It is not even to teach a given conception of God. Our ideas of God have

changed, and the Bible, to say nothing of subsequent Jewish literature, reflects some of these changes.

If the main object of our school were to teach ethics, we could easily join the ethical culturists. If the main object of our school were to teach a liberal conception of God, we could join the liberal Unitarians. It is the manner in which the God idea was reflected in Israel's Torah that we must stress. Pedagogically speaking, Israel and Torah offer concrete realities through which the more abstract idea of God may be taught to children. The constant mention of God's name merely lessens reverence for Him. It is not the taking of His name in vain so often that constitutes the earmarks of a religious person but living in accord with the highest ideals which are summarized in and identified with the term God. Sometimes we find more Godliness in people who act in accordance with certain high ideals than in those who pretend to have a monopoly on God and therefore constantly use His name. These people make God—who is *kodesh—chol,* they make God secular. They are our real secularists.

A word about the function of the Jewish educator in the process of Jewish education. I should not want to take the responsibility for all the statements that might be made by all educators, any more than I should care to subscribe to all the statements made by rabbis. But the Jewish educator has performed several useful functions which on an occasion like this, and by rabbis especially, ought to be gratefully remembered. It was he, who with the cooperation of the social worker, enlisted the aid of the rabbis in the larger communities of this country and organized them to deal with the problem of the unschooled. Hundreds of thousands of children are neglected throughout this country. The attempt to provide a Jewish education for them is a service, gentlemen, worthy of commendation.

The Jewish educator has raised the status of Jewish education to the level of a profession for which years of preparation are necessary and for which the qualification of being a well wisher or just a pretty young girl of eighteen

does not suffice. They have made it clear that a person who teaches should know what to teach and how to teach; that one who supervises instruction should know what to look for and how to help his teachers. They have given dignity to the calling of the teacher, dignity derived not from pompousness but from training and knowledge and sincerity.

In Reform Jewish education the educator has introduced a new turn of things. Some of us may be satisfied with our religious schools as they are. Fortunately most of us are honestly discontented. We know that the curriculum hitherto consisted chiefly of the Bible stories and of history, but the BIBLE was hardly taught and Jewish history generally brought the children to the Babylonian Exile and never redeemed them. A new emphasis has been given to Jewish customs and ceremonies and they have recently been recognized as valuable means for developing Jewish ideals and attitudes—Jewish habits of life. Our schools have begun to recognize the importance of applying modern methods to the teaching of Hebrew. The value of songs has come to be appreciated in our schools. I am not a musician nor the son of a musician, but I do know that a child at play is not likely to sing "praise the living God," nor would we want him to sing it. The very fact that hymns are sacred makes it inadvisable to sing them on all occasions. Still, if the emotional value of songs be admitted who can doubt that we would be far better off if we supplemented our hymns by the singing of other English Jewish songs, and if our children knew sufficient Hebrew to sing some simple Hebrew songs. Would not such a knowledge of Hebrew result in greater loyalty to the religious ideals of Israel? These suggestions are worthy of consideration in spite of the fact that they are given by a Jewish educator.

Only recently has a definite plan of studies been approved by this Conference after lengthy deliberation—a plan involving an elaborate list of books to be published. The first results of this plan have come in the last two or three years and have given us the best text book on Jewish history for

children so far published in English (Golub's "In the Days of the Second Temple") and the best book of stories related to the Bible (Gaer's "Burning Bush"). A series of monographs and syllabi have been prepared—the beginning, alas, the first beginning, of a Jewish teacher training literature in this country.

Was there much agitation for introducing week-day instruction into our religious schools? We all know before the Jewish educator was invited and welcomed into our ranks that the time given to religious education in our schools made them the laughing stock of elders and children alike. What effort has been made to change the situation? None, until the Jewish educator started on a task of propaganda to increase the hours of Jewish instruction. I mention all these services, a richer curriculum, better text books, new methods, week-day instruction, the services rendered by the experts, not merely a change of name from hymnal to songster, I mention these in order to remind you of the talmudic dictum " Into the fountain from which you have drunk water, throw no stones."

Finally, Reform Jewish education must be affected by the fundamental principle of Reform which is progressive change. When we speak of Reform as "we understand it," the Jewish educator has a right to ask for a definition of "we." He may further point out that Judaism is not a denominationalism dependent upon Hegelian philosophy. What virtue is there if for the orthodoxy of the Shulhan Aruch we substitute a new orthodoxy 100 years old? If on the occasion of our 40th anniversary we are interested in a reckoning of the soul let it be above *Heshbon Hanefesh.*

Rabbi Pollak: Nobody realizes better than those of us who are engaged in the work of Religious education that there are many factors that we ought to know a great deal more about. We realize that our homes are not functioning in the way they should. We have made certain studies in Jewish homes. I did not want to be sensational, so I re-

ferred in a casual way to the fact that our homes are becoming secularized. Certainly we realize that we must correlate the work of the school and the homes. In a paper of this type I could not cover all the aspects of the Jewish school.

Rabbi Harris referred to a project on philanthropy. We know that his school and others are carrying on similar, worthwhile projects but we could not touch upon all of them. With regard to the expense or cost of religious training, I realize the difficulties of estimating how much money the Jewish school is spending. All the factors that were mentioned were taken into consideration in making up the estimates. We are not spending enough money on the religious education of our children. I care not how you juggle the figures we are not spending enough. I fully agree that the time has come when our religious schools should reflect the ideals of modern religious concepts. The time has come when we ought to ask ourselves what we really stand for and see to it that our religious schools are inculcating those ethical and spiritual principles into the souls of our children.

Rabbi Fineberg: We know that the Religious School must be judged by its products, by the character of its graduates, but a single individual could not make such a study. It would require the work of a bureau of research. I could only have said in a general way that our schools, judged on this basis have not done so well. If I correctly understood the presidential message our schools were given a complete vindication and declared to be a great success. I only say that *compared to other denominations,* we have done rather well.

As to whether or not little children can be made to understand the distinction between myth and fact, I realize that there are many people who cannot make them appreciate the true distinction. But in some schools children of a tender age are writing poetry and music and doing remarkable work. Take them across the street, put them into the hands of an unskilled teacher, and they will seem frozen, they will not respond. The fact that certain things

have not been done in many schools, does not indicate that they cannot be done.

Furthermore, I would ask this question: Is it possible to teach little children to appreciate and react to the construction of King Solomon's temple, which existed long ago, and yet impossible to awaken their interest in a Jewish hospital in the orient which is now being built amid poverty and distress? Is it possible to teach them to respond sympathetically to the redemption from ancient Egypt and yet impossible to make them understand sympathetically the migration of thousands of Jews, who are now fleeing the persecution of Central Europe? If it is impossible to win their sympathy for the living issues, why have religious schools at all? If we cannot make them understand and appreciate what is happening to their own fathers or grandfathers why talk to them about what happened to their distant ancestors? It is glorious for our children to know that they come from a people of martyrs, but it is far more glorious and more important for them to realize that they are of a people whose lives are still touched by the finger of the ever-living God.

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THE AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

DAVID LEFKOWITZ

Jehudah ben Tema, in his Twelve Ages of Man, said *Ben arbaim shana lebina,* that one who attains the age of forty has arrived at the stage of understanding, of insight. It is that stage of life which carries with it, according to the author of Proverbs, strength and power, *ani bina li geburah.* It is certainly a wise procedure, as well as one commended by sentiment, to stand on our little hillock which forty years have for the moment raised on the sand-dunes of the ages and to strive to understand the direction and the perspective of the life that has thus far been granted us.

As, in sight of the promised land, the ancient lawgiver looked upon his people after his long leadership and pointed out, "And I have led you forty years in the wilderness; your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot," so today it is the voice of that other Moses, Isaac Mayer Wise, that comes to us. He who led us in his own commanding and winning person and later in his equally dominating spirit for forty years is now uppermost in our minds on this great anniversary. How wisely and how well he builded. All the bitterness of the early beginnings, all the disappointments and the hardships would be forgotten if he could look upon this Conference session and see his work, which forty years ago he outlined with such clarity, going on in fuller flower than perhaps he ever dreamed the little bud might attain. In our mind's eye, he stands before us majestically at this hour, and that voice of his, once a clarion call, asks us as he would have us ask ourselves, whether the garments of our zeal and courage are waxen old, whether our worn shoes have retarded us in our onward march. It is to respond to this query that we set ourselves, with the *bina,* the understanding which forty years are said to bring.

Similar studies have been made at the various high stations along

the road to this fortieth year, an exceptional one being that of the historian of our Conference, Dr. David Philipson, who in this city of Detroit, on July 3rd, 1914, became our *laudator temporis acti* and presented the Silver Anniversary paper on "The Principles and Achievements of the Central Conference of American Rabbis." Thorough and well-considered this study was, as one would expect in anything coming from that pen; and yet it was written fifteen years ago. Then our Conference had but 216 members, now it has grown to a membership of 317. Besides many new problems have appeared, old ones became more pressing, and new projects were planned and new vistas were opened. No one could fail to use the earlier study of Dr. Philipson with profit and thankfulness, yet the picture needed extension, at the least. We are farther along the way, too, and can therefore make our appraisals of the aims and achievements of the Conference with the surer measures and sounder perspective which only the years can supply.

On the tenth of July, 1889, a group of about thirty rabbis met in the city of Detroit at the close of a biennial meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and organized the Central Conference of American Rabbis. It was not the first time that the rabbis of America had met in conference. As we turn backward to the many attempts to unite American Israel by bringing the rabbinate of America together for consultation, direction and decision, we find one figure amidst the changing groups always present, now dominant, even as on this great anniversary occasion he is again unforgettably with us in the spirit. It is that of the young Bohemian rabbi whom we find a silent onlooker and listener at the Frankfort Conference in Germany in 1845, the young man who, coming to these shores in 1846, attempted in the fall of that year with Dr. Max Lilienthal and two others to develop an organization that would lead to rabbinical cooperation. It was the dauntless, far-seeing, statesmanlike Isaac Mayer Wise. From that earliest attempt to unite four rabbis into a Beth Din, we find him the very heart and mind and soul of all the conferences of rabbis up to the last year of the 19th century. In October, 1855, the first of these gatherings, more ambitious in scope than the Beth Din of 1846, met at Cleveland. It not only proposed to unite into one group the lay and rabbinic representatives of the

Jewry of America, but also to develop an American Judaism that would be "free, progressive, enlightened, united and respected," without causing a rift in Israel of America. This, at any rate, was the hope of Wise, and to realize that hope he was willing to compromise to the extent of giving his support to a set of "leading principles" for future synods, containing as second of four principles that "the Talmud contains the traditional legal and logical exposition of the biblical laws, which must be expounded and practiced according to the comments of the Talmud." Instead, however, of uniting the rabbis, this conference, and especially the four principles, most thoroughly separated them into warring camps and stirred a controversy so bitter that it kept even the reformers apart for fourteen years. The lesson was learnt— a sad lesson, perhaps—that as they were divided then in religious outlook and belief the union of all Israel in America was impossible, and Wise bent all his efforts and energies from that time on toward the union and strengthening of the progressive forces in American Israel. The second Conference convened in Philadelphia in 1869 and was frankly reform in pronouncement. It stated that "the Messianic aim of Israel was not the restoration of the old Jewish state under a descendent of David . . . but a union of all men as children of God in the confession of the unity of God"; it spoke of Israel's dispersion as a neccessary step toward the realization of its "high, priestly mission to lead the nations to the true knowledge and worship of God"; it asserted that "belief in bodily resurrection has no religious foundation and the doctrine of immortality refers to the after-existence of the soul only"; it urged that the bride "shall no longer be a passive party to the marriage ceremony"; it pronounced " the ritual *Get* is invalid in all cases"; it insisted that "the command to marry the brother-in-law, and in case of his refusal to take off the shoe, etc., etc., has lost all sense for us, all importance and all binding force" and it ended by declaring that "the male child of a Jewish mother no less than a female child . . . to be considered a Jew by descent even though he be uncircumcised." Other rather sectional conferences were held in Cleveland, July, 1871, and in New York in October of that year, and in Cincinnati in June, 1871. Not until 1885 did another conference convene, and then 19 rabbis came together in November of that year in Pittsburg and laid down a De-

claration of Principles in eight sections which carried on to a logical conclusion the reform character of the Philadelphia pronouncements.

Although the Pittsburg conference and the platform it adopted, alienated the Conservative and Orthodox rabbis, who violently took issue on practically every declaration the conference made, it united the Reformers as they never were before. However, though at the adjournment of the Pittsburg Conference, the understanding was that a meeting would take place in Cincinnati the following year, four years elapsed before another conference convened. These years from 1885 to 1889 saw the Hebrew Union College send out classes of rabbis who stood ready to answer the call of their teacher and guide. "Isaac M. Wise held," as Dr. Philipson says in his survey of this period, "the undisputed place of rabbinical leader in the country." He had founded the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and then the Hebrew Union College, and he was now moving toward the realization of his third dream. It came as a fitting celebration of his seventieth birthday. At a meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in the city of Detroit early in July, 1889, a group of rabbis attending was called together and organized themselves into a Central Conference of American Rabbis and Isaac M. Wise, in spite of his strenuous protests, was unanimously elected to the office of president which he held for the eleven years that followed until his death. At last, despite repeated failures to organize a permanent rabbinical association, his faith was justified. He had never turned aside from the accomplishment of this purpose, so firmly convinced was he that such an organization for the study and discussion of the religious problems of American Israel was an imperative necessity. And now it was accomplished; his colleagues of the older days, who had stood by him when the fight was bitter and hard, joined with his pupils to rear this capstone to his career. No doubt, at that organization meeting in 1889, he looked back to that *Beth Din* of four members that had met in October, 1846, and with pride and joy compared it to the Central Conference of American Rabbis forty-three years later. Though beaten back and out of the course from time to time, it was this harbor of a permanent rabbinical conference toward which he had steered through four decades.

From the beginning the Conference took the position of historical

continuity. The committee, appointed to report a plan of organization at the initial meeting in Detroit brought in, as their first resolution,

> That the proceedings of all the modern Rabbinical Conferences, from that held in Braunschweig in 1844, and including all like assemblages held since, shall be taken as a basis for the work of this Conference.

They stated that their endeavor was "to maintain in unbroken historic succession the formulated expression of the Jewish thought and life of each era." They referred specifically to the Conference at Brunswick in 1844. That conference was the culmination of one era—the era of disintegration—and the beginning of another, the modern emancipation of the Jew, both politically and economically, bringing to the Jew western culture and educational opportunity. The new spirit engendered an impatience with a religious outlook, embodied in a religious code; for both code and outlook were out of tune with the newly acquired culture and status of the Jew. A radical individualism, much like that which was generally abroad in western Europe, developed in Israel, disregarding all authority. In the resultant confusion, with religious anarchy in sight, with every custom and belief, every ritual and form and ceremony challenged or even disregarded, the religious leaders in the early decades of the 19th century sought wildly for a remedy. There was no agreement; many remained uncompromisingly for the *Shulḥan Aruch,* some tentatively looked for a new authority that might appeal to the new spirit, while others like Mendel Hess and Samuel Holdheim went to the extreme of radicalism which foreboded a schism in Israel. Amongst these diverse groups of leaders, there was one section which saw the necessity of reform but at the same time was convinced that nothing must be done to break the historical continuity in the development of Judaism. The Wiesbaden Conference of this group, called in 1837 by Abraham Geiger, met to discuss those matters which called for revision, and, after deliberate consideration of the historical background and the modern necessity, to announce the *Din* as the religious teachers have done throughout our history. It did little more than map out a plan of work to be done, but even that was most important in that it made clear the task and the procedure for future conferences. The Brunswick conference called in 1844 by Ludwig

Philippson laid down the twofold purpose of such deliberative assemblies which holds to the present day, namely:

> "The rabbinical conferences shall have as their purpose that the members shall take counsel together in order to determine by what means the preservation and development of Judaism and the enlivening of the religious consciousness can be accomplished."

When the organization meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis took place at Detroit forty years ago, it met not only in the spirit of the Brunswick conference but it explicitly accepted its attitude. It laid down the principle of historic continuity, claiming that Reform Judaism was the latest expression of the Jewish spirit that never lost touch with the past. It maintained the line of Jewish tradition, though it interprets this in the light of God's continuous revelation. It announced that the Conference is a deliberative body of Jewish scholars who arrive at conclusions and announce them, without arrogating to themselves any synodical or ecclesiastical power to loose or to bind. And the motivation was always the preservation and development of Judaism, by the same means of adjustment as those employed by the doctors of the Talmud, and the revitalization of the religious consciousness of our people.

The Conference from the first felt that these aims can only be attained by the union of all American rabbis. At the meeting in Cleveland, the year following the session of organization at Detroit, Isaac M. Wise, in his keynote address stressed this point as the very central aim:

> "It is by the solid union of its expounders only that Judaism can command the respect due to it among its votaries and its opponents. The imposing number and unanimity of an intellectual and moral organization impress the community with veneration and command a more profound respect even than the noblest deeds and most exalted thoughts of the few, antagonistic to each other. If Judaism is to be properly respected, its bearers must first be, and this can be gained only by solid union."

It was this spirit of union inaugurated in these first meetings and so realistically pleaded for by Wise that convinced the small membership which participated in them that, as Wise said, "a new era is opening in the history of American Israel." There is no doubt that the con-

tacts which the Conference provided between the rabbis created a real spirit of comradeship and *esprit de corps* such as had only rarely been found before. Very early in the history of the Conference, we find the membership concerned with the right attitude of rabbi toward rabbi, mitigating by special regulations and codes the rigors and asperities of the competitive system which, coming out of the market-places, had invaded the very precincts of the synagog. A code of ethics among ministers was presented in a resolution at New York in 1892, which was enlarged and re-edited from time to time, and which has done much toward the elimination of practices which, if permitted to continue, would have resulted in a serious deterioration of the character of the rabbinate and of the respect in which the ministry is held by the people. Much, of course, still remains to be done in this direction. Similarly the arrangement of difficulties between rabbi and congregation was put into the hands of a Committee on Arbitration representing the Conference and its membership in disagreements where previously the rabbi was at serious disadvantage.

But the union of the American Reform rabbinate above all else made possible fraternal helpfulness toward the less fortunate of its membership. It was in Cleveland in 1890 that Wise in enumerating the objects that should ever stand before the Conference stated as the third one:

> "To establish and control a fund from which to give aid to superannuated and indigent colleagues and their families, not otherwise provided for."

This fund was first established out of 50% of the membership dues, to which was added one-half of the interest received from the Conference investments. Later on congregations and individuals were invited to contribute annually to this worthy cause, and the response has been so gratifying that we have been enabled to meet, more or less adequately, the ever-growing call made upon this fund.

But the union of rabbis was intended not only for these fraternal amenities, fine as they were, but also for the effective introduction of those readjustments that were deemed imperative in the modern American environment. The founder of the Conference, in that first statesmanlike message delivered at Cleveland in 1890, declared:

"The united rabbis of America have undoubtedly the right—also

according to talmudic teachings—to declare and decide, anyhow for this country, with its peculiar circumstances, unforseen anywhere, which of our religious forms, institutions, observances, usages, customs, ordinances and prescriptions are still living factors in our religious, ethical and intellectual life, and which are so no longer and ought to be replaced by more adequate means to give expression to the spirit of Judaism and to reveal its character of universal religion."

Of course he insisted that all reforms, necessitated by the new conditions, ought to go into practice on the authority of the Conference, "not only to protect the individual rabbi, but to protect Judaism against presumptuous innovations of rash and inconsiderate men." The Conference, he felt, should be the lawful authority in matters of form.

In conformity with that point of view, which has been consistently held throughout the forty years, the Conference has from time to time, practically at every one of its sessions, busied itself with this process of readjustment. It laid down principles that should rule in the changes made, and strove to keep those principles ever in mind. The practical side of this question was the one that came home to every member from the very inception of the Conference. That was the matter of ritual. With the feeling that the old Prayerbook was unacceptable, there arose many rituals. As one of the results of the meeting in 1855, a Minhag America was prepared in Cincinnati, but did not gain wide acceptance. So it was natural that one of the first acts of the Conference of 1890 was that looking toward an adequate Prayerbook, but added to that was the demand for uniformity in the matter of ritual in the Reform congregations of the land. A ritual Committee headed by Moses Mielziner was appointed and with exemplary promptness brought its completed draft of the first volume of the Union Prayerbook before the Conference the following year, 1892, at New York. Not only was the draft accepted but the Ritual Committee was authorized to proceed with the preparation of the second volume for Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur, and to publish separately the various agendas for Funerals, Marriages, Confirmations, etc. At the Rochester Conference, 1895, the announcement was made of the publication of the second volume. It certainly should not be out of place to mention the names of that historic ritual com-

mittee under whose auspices these first Union Prayerbooks were drawn up: M. Mielziner, chairman; G. Gottheil, K. Kohler, M. H. Harris, E. G. Hirsch, I. S. Moses, J. Voorsanger, L. Mayer, H. Berkowitz, A. Moses, D. Philipson and I. M. Wise, ex-officio. As the years went on, it was felt that however nobly that pioneer work on the Prayerbook was done, there was need of revision, and this was done for the first volume in 1918, and for the second in 1922.

As to the agenda for marriage, funerals, etc., which had appeared as an appendix to the first draft of the Union Prayerbook brought before the Conference in 1892, it was felt that they should be published separately as a Ministers' Handbook. After years of preparation of the various agendas and more years of discussion, the Ministers' Handbook was finally published in 1916. After serving its purpose for a decade it too was revised and enlarged into the present booklet, Rabbis' Manual.

From the very beginning of the Conference, along with the need of a ritual, was felt the urgency of a compilation of Jewish devotional music, but it was not until 1914 that the Committee on Union Hymnal under the chairmanship of Rabbi Harry H. Mayer brought the work to completion. It was not long after the publication of this book that the need of revision was felt and, since 1918, a number of Committees have been at work on the revised Hymnal, and recently under the chairmanship of Rabbi Wolsey the work is proceeding apace, and there is promise that within two years the revised Union Hymnal will be completed.

A similar story can be told of the Union Haggadah ritual of the Conference. Though a committee was appointed as early as 1892 it was not until six years later that the committee's work was completed and the committee discharged. A revision of this Haggadah was ordered in 1917 and under the chairmanship of Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon in 1922 the new Haggadah, enhancing the beautiful home service of the Passover, received the approval of the Conference and was published the following year.

Upon the request of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods made at Boston, in 1919, that the Conference "prepare a book containing a series of biblical readings, one for every day of the year, these readings to make for hope, cheer, strength and confidence, these

readings always to end with a prayer expressive of the best thought of the synagog liturgy," a committee was appointed for this task and under the chairmanship of Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof the book appeared as one of the valued publications of the Conference in 1925. In 1928 another committee that had been appointed in 1924 to prepare a Manual for Proselytes reported their work completed under the chairmanship of Rabbi Joseph Rauch.

This mass of liturgical, synagogal and instruction literature, in the preparation of which the best minds of the Conference had been engaged during all the forty years of its history, is one upon which we can well look with pride and satisfaction. Not that it is by any means a finality; the very fundamentals of the reform movement recognize the flux and movement in religious expression. Yet, through this stupendous work of the Conference, a public liturgy and a home and private devotional literature that approximately meets the needs of a large section of American Jewry has been developed and has largely swept away the great bulk of individual and congregational liturgies, and has aided the movement toward that uniformity which was one of the early aims of the Conference.

Early in its history the Conference showed concern at the inadequate means with which the religious instruction of our young people was being carried on, and from time to time various papers treating with the method and content of Jewish religious education were presented before the membership. Then, in 1906, a Committee of five was appointed as a standing committee on Religious Schools and the following year a Religious School Day for each convention of the Conference was decided upon. The annual programs which this committee each year presented, and the discussions in connection with them, have been exceedingly helpful.

Religious work in the Universities was under the consideration of our body as early as 1906 and the committee that brought in the report under the chairmanship of Louis Grossmann, was requested to organize the work by inducing the rabbis located near Universities to assist in developing classes in Jewish studies and similar endeavors among the students. Later this work was enlarged under the chairmanship of Rabbi Leo M. Franklin to the establishment of Jewish student congregations in the Universities. Latterly, through contact with the

newly organized Conference on Jewish activities at Universities, there is held out hope for a more thorough program along the line that the committee works, and to this hope is added the growing activity of the Hillel Foundation of the B'nai B'rith.

It has ever been the aim of the Conference, wherever feasible, to cooperate with the national and international organizations allied in their outlook with that of the Conference. For a number of years, for instance, the Conference on Liturgical Literature was engaged on a book of prayers for the university student congregations upon the request of the Hillel Foundation. The Conference publication, Meditation and Prayers, was undertaken upon the urgency of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, as before explained. Besides this form of cooperation the Conference has in various ways united forces in combined commissions, etc., with the Jewish Publication Society, the Synagog Council, the National Council for Religious Work in Universities, the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the American Peace Society, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the National Catholic Council in the matter of peace and social justice, and of course with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for the publication of Tracts, Sermonic Literature and Religious School text-books (through the Commission on Religious Education). It should be mentioned that one of the finest fruits of this kind of cooperation is the new translation of the Hebrew Bible into English and published as The Holy Scriptures by the Jewish Publication Society. To the outstanding group of Jewish scholars who produced this epoch-making work, the Conference gave as its representatives, Kaufmann Kohler, David Philipson and Samuel Schulman.

It is but natural that the Conference as the spokesman of a considerable group of American Jews should from time to time make pronouncements in the cause of International Peace, urging its members to utilize Peace Day for sermons on Universal Peace. When the danger threatened of a possible war with Mexico in 1916, the Conference resolution urged that "in the present critical phase of our relations with our neighbor to the south, every possible effort be exerted to avert war with its unspeakable horrors and sufferings and to continue among us that blessed peace which has obtained hitherto and

made this land the hope of the world." The attitude of the Conference on the question of war and peace was drawn up by a committee appointed at the convention in 1924 and was reported at the same conference. It clearly states the prophetic position on peace that has been held by the Jewish people throughout the centuries, and it urges that our nation assist in those unmistakably helpful international agencies and processes such as the World Court, whereby International Peace might be fostered and maintained. That resolution (Vol. 34, p. 91, Yearbook of the C. C. A. R.) still stands as the latest pronouncement of the Conference on the question of Peace.

It was during the presidency of Joseph Krauskopf in 1904 that the Conference prepared itself to fight the growing sectarian tendencies that manifested themselves in all parts of the country at that time. Upon the suggestion contained in the President's message of that year it was decided that a standing committee be appointed by the Conference "to gather whatever literature there exists on the illegality and danger of sectarianism in our public schools, and other institutions, to create such other literature as it may deem necessary, and to publish such material in a tract, or a series of tracts, so that it may be in readiness whenever and wherever a vigorous campaign for the suppression of sectarianism in our public institutions be entered upon." This standing committee brought in the very next year the literary material to be used in carrying on our contest against sectarianism, which after revision was printed in pamphlet form under the title, "Why the Bible Should Not Be Read in the Public Schools." Much used in the many efforts to defeat state and municipal legislation that would give a sectarian character to our public schools, it was later republished in a revised and enlarged form. Gradually the work of this standing committee was extended to guard against all forms of sectarianism and against all movements and legislation that tended toward the union of Church and State, and at the same time the committee which was named the Committee on Church and State was composed, besides a chairman and vice-chairman, of representatives of the Conference membership from each state of the Union. Through its efforts and the use of the Conference pamphlet, many attempts of the sectarians have been frustrated.

It is but natural that the Conference, finding the prophetic outlook

and utterances so congenial to its own, should as occasion appeared give aid and comfort to the oppressed in the industrial field. Its first studies were made by a committee designated, under the name of The Synagog and Industrial Relations, to carry on investigation of the subject, to arrange for the discussion of mooted points between employer and employe, to make propaganda for industrial peace and to tender the good offices of the Conference and the Committee in helping to adjudicate industrial conflicts. An attempt was made in 1913 to combine a number of seemingly unrelated activities under the supervision of one committee that was called The Synagog and Social Service, but soon there emerged a very distinctive piece of work that the Conference felt itself impelled to do for the amelioration of the lot of the worker, and this was assigned to a special committee that in time became a Commission on Social Justice. Especially effective was this Commission under its first chairman, Horace J. Wolf, who above all things aimed to formulate for the Conference a program and pronouncement and platform of social principles. The Social Justice program that was drawn up by this committee in the year 1918 (vol. 28, p. 102) containing fourteen points was presented at the biennial meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in St. Louis in 1924, and was adopted by that body as its program. The work of the Commission on Social Justice progressed and widened through the last five years under the chairmanship of Rabbi Ephraim Frisch and Rabbi Edward L. Israel to include close cooperation with the Research Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the study of industrial disputes and in the efforts to settle them, as also in the making of pronouncements along the lines of social justice. It cooperated also with the Committee on Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and assisted in a number of summer conferences at Olivet, Michigan, along the line of the undertaking in fellowship. Just last year, ten years after the promulgation of the first official platform of Social Justice of the Conference, the Commission on Social Justice presented a program of seventeen extended paragraphs dealing not only with purely industrial questions as did the first formulation, such as The Sacredness of Individual Personality, The Right of Organization, Arbitra-

tion of Industrial Disputes, The Moral Right to a Living Wage, Unemployment, Social Insurance, Hours of Labor and Days of Rest, Women in Industry and Child Labor; but also extending the pronouncement of Social Justice very properly, it seems, to a number of other matters, such as Prisons and Penal Laws, Lynching, Civil Liberties, and Social Justice and International Relations. It has been felt for some time by the Conference that one of the major activities of our body is being carried on through the instrumentality of the Commission on Social Justice.

Yet in all these largely practical efforts, the Conference never for a moment has lost sight of one of its main aims and objectives. This is clearly set forth by our founder at the second convention of this Conference at Cleveland, in 1890, in the following words:

> "The united rabbis in conference assembled should annually give fresh impulse and new encouragement to the study of the literature of Israel, especially by giving out select subjects for investigation and research to individuals or committees, to be worked up into essays, treatises, reports, sermons."

Not a year of the forty of this Conference passed without at least one and often a number of fine, scholarly essays and studies being presented at the annual sessions. Many of these were called forth by the desire to study the whole field of Judaism on certain subjects before proceeding to a decision along the matter of Jewish principles and practice. So were the Sabbath Studies (vol. 12), and the Bible and Modern Thought (vol. 12), The Theological Aspect of Reform Judaism (vol. 13), Eschatology of the Jews Until the Close of the Talmud (vol. 4), Ethics of the Halacha (vol. 23), Harmonization of Jewish Civil Laws on Marriage and Divorce (vol. 25), Philosophy of the Reform Movement in American Judaism (vol. 5), Significance of the Bible for Reform Judaism in the Light of Modern Scientific Research (vol. 18), The Philosophy of Henri Bergson and Judaism (vol. 26), Freedom of the Will in Talmudic Literature (vol. 27), Historical and Systematic Relations of Judaism and Kant (vol. 34), a series on A Revaluation of Reform Judaism (vol. 34), Dogma and Judaism (vol. 35), The Theology of the Union Prayerbook (vol. 38), The Layman and Reform Judaism (vol. 38), and many similar studies. The centenaries of the great men in Israel were also occasions for the presentation to the Conference of scholarly studies of the

life and work and time of these notables, such as Wise (vol. 10), Einhorn (vol. 19), Crescas and Spinoza (vol. 18), Geiger, the Reformer (vol. 20), Max Lilienthal (vol. 25), Moses Hayyim Luzatto (vol. 17), Solomon Munk (vol. 13), A Life of Solomon Sulzer (vol. 14), Heinrich Graetz (vol. 27), Isaac Leeser (vol. 28), Steinthal and Lazarus (vol. 34), Israel Jacobson (vol. 38).

Not only by this direct scholarly work of its members does the Conference seek to carry out the aim of fostering Jewish scholarship, but also by encouragement through subsidies granted from time to time to scholars to assist them in publishing their work. The opportunity to do more and more along this line has been opened to the Conference through the generosity of Mr. Lucius Littauer, who last year, through our president, gave the Conference $5,000 to distribute for the purpose of encouraging Jewish scholarship. It is hoped that this gift will be a continuous one.

As we look through the years of activity of the Conference, we find an ever growing desire to keep the unity of Israel intact as far as may be possible, while at the same time maintaining our intellectual integrity. Furthermore, there did not appear one instance of Jewish need or suffering where the Conference did not immediately move to meet the situation with dispatch and warm sympathy, no matter how distantly removed from us those brethren were. For that reason it is interesting to note how restive the Conference has been during the last quarter of a century while a large section of our people were mobilizing toward Palestinian rehabilitation. Appearing as this movement did at first largely as a political one, the bulk of the Conference membership was opposed to it. In 1899, the anti-Zionist side as well as the Zionist were presented in papers read before the body. No vote was taken. However, as the movement grew in strength and adherents, a number of statements appeared in various messages of the presidents of the Conference, and pronouncements by the vote of the organization itself, that showed that the great majority of the Conference could not approve of the philosophy of political Zionism. One president of the Conference made the issue by heading a special paragraph of his message, "Nationalism versus Religion" . . . and he urged his colleagues to see that "the time has come for this Conference to publish a statement that it stands for an Israel whose mission

is religious and that, in the light of that mission, it looks with disfavor upon any movement the purpose of which is other than religious." The committee to whom that president's message was referred reported in a majority opinion (only one member of that committee dissenting), "we herewith reaffirm the fundamental principle of Reform Judaism, that the essence of Israel as a priest people consists in its religious consciousness, and in the sense of consecration to God and service in the world, and not in any political or racial consciousness. And therefore we look with disfavor upon the new doctrine of political Jewish nationalism which finds the criterion of Jewish loyalty in anything other than loyalty to Israel's God and Israel's religious mission." One year following, in 1918, the Committee on President's Message "hailed with grateful appreciation the declaration of the British Government by Mr. Balfour as an evidence of good-will toward the Jews. We naturally favor the facilitation of immigration to Palestine of Jews who, either because of economic necessity or religious persecution, desire to settle there . . . (but) we are opposed to the idea that Palestine should be considered the Homeland of the Jews. Jews in America are part of the American nation." In the president's message at Rochester, 1920, we find reference to the San Remo Conference in the words, "an event which must stir the imagination of all Jews was the recent decision of the San Remo Conference to give to Great Britain a mandate over Palestine in line with the so-called Balfour Declaration." The committee on this president's message also rejoiced at the recent decision of the San Remo Conference but felt it its duty to point out that "we do not, however, admit that this historic event is what it has been called, the *Geulah* or the Redemption of Israel. Convinced that the mission of the Jew is to witness to God all over the world, etc., etc." In 1921, a resolution was passed that the Conference "through its committee on Cooperation with National Organizations, endeavor to arrive at some practical and expedient method of cooperation with the Zionist organization toward the rebuilding of Palestine." In 1924, in response to the President, who in his message to the Conference recommended that the Conference accept the tentative outline of the newly contemplated Jewish Agency as suggested by the non-partisan group, and that a committee be appointed to cooperate with this group, the president's

message committee stated that the Conference reaffirms its agreement to cooperate in the rehabilitation of Palestine, that it favors the formation of a non-partisan group for the development of Palestine and that the president continue his unofficial cooperation with the non-partisan conference. At this stage of cooperation through the Jewish Agency, the Conference now finds itself, ready to heartily enter into the work of Palestinian rehabilitation, but while not by any means as a majority endorsing the politician aspects of Zionism yet more than willing for the sake of unity in Israel and especially of united and effective work in Palestine not to make any pronouncements on that question.

We have seen that it was the anarchy and individualism and consequent confusion of any number of independent adjustments and reformulations, many sane and justified, but others utterly dangerous and schismatic and totally ill-conceived, which concerned the membership of the early Conferences. They felt the need of careful, united and reverent reforms for the sake of unity in Israel and they felt an equal need of making void the independent, hasty changes introduced in ritual and even in religious pronouncements. But during the first thirteen years the Conference was busied in presenting an entirely new liturgy to the American Jew, and so fully convinced was every one concerned of the need of these practical, uniform rituals that they were without any serious demur adopted, once the majority of the membership had voted for them. Then, too, there was the authority of the leader, Isaac M. Wise, which made the road of acceptance of the Conference decision in these practical matters a comparatively easy thing. Soon after his death, however, and when decisions on principles were being considered, the question of the authority of the Conferences comes to the fore. In 1900 Dr. Enelow presented an exhaustive study on The Synod of the Past and its Feasibility in the present. In 1902 we find the message of the President, Rabbi Joseph Silverman, containing the following:

> It seems to me advisable that this Conference should place itself in touch with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in order to devise some plan by which its deliberations may receive proper recognition from congregations and its decisions be regarded as authoritative. In the absence of a Synod or Sanhedrin, the Conference ought, in a measure, to

> be the central body whose duty it shall be to give a decisive interpretation to Jewish law and practice, and determine what united course of action congregations shall adopt.

In his message the following year, 1903, in the city of Detroit, Dr. Silverman returned to the subject of the authority of the Conference and proceeded to the suggestion of a Synod which stirred this organization for four years. He said:

> "the lack of a central authority is not only felt with regard to general secular matters affecting Jewish interests but also with regard to ecclesiastical matters that are of great moment. The autonomy of congregations is jealously guarded with the result that we have almost as many phases of Judaism as we have congregations. The Central Conference of American Rabbis has mitigated this evil to a great extent by bringing the rabbis together for discussion and concerted action on matters calling for unanimity. But there is no denying the fact that much of the value of our deliberations and conclusions is lost because we lack the means of making them effective . . . Every great period of ancient Israel had its Sanhedrin or Synod."

He proposed that the Synod be formed of the Conference and lay delegates representing the congregations according to their numbers, and he urged that this Synod be called at an early date to decide on Articles of Jewish Theology, Sabbath observance, election of rabbis, gaining the unaffiliated, intermarriage, proselytism, cremation, synagog music and ritual, observation of Festivals and Holy Days and a uniform system of religious instruction. The committee on the President's Message heartily endorsed the proposal of the establishment of a central authoritative body or synod, and suggested that the whole matter be referred to a committee of seven to study the plan set forth in the message of the President and those of Drs. Margolis and Voorsanger, and such other plans as may be presented to it, and to report at the next Conference.

In the next year, 1904, Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, in his president's message, strongly recommended that the Conference seriously enter upon the formation of a Synod. The report of the Committee of Seven on the Synod was read and after much discussion a vote was taken. The vote was so close that by leave of the Conference the committee withdrew its report. The following year there was a report of the Com-

mittee on Synodical Literature but not of the Committee on the Synod. But in 1906 the Committee on Synod came with a definite plan of organization of the Central Jewish Assembly of America, which would be an authoritative body not only for religious matters but also for general communal concerns. When the decision was finally reached after a lengthy debate it was "While we are in favor of union of action in American Israel, on occasions of emergency, we declare the formation of any organization through this Conference is impracticable and inadvisable." (Yearbook, Vol. XVI, p. 41).

Since that time the question of authority through Synod or by any other means has not been opened. The majority vote of the Conference on any subject carries with it a certain weight which in most cases has gained recognition for these decisions. A committee on Responsa was authorized in 1906 and to it have been sent, from time to time, questions as to Jewish customs, forms and traditions. Upon the basis of the studies made by the Responsa Committee, it handed down its opinion as to the validity of any modern proposed change or complete departure from an early form of observance. And it was through these two processes alone, through a majority vote taken after study, discussions and debate and through the findings of a learned Responsa Committee, that a fair uniformity has been attained in the course of the never-ending readjustment. In so far as they constitute authority, they are for good or bad the only authority recognized by the Conference.

That thus far this form of authority has served American Jewry well, we can affirm after our appraisal of the achievements of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in the course of these forty years. As we note the tremendous advance made from the anarchy and confusion of the fifties and sixties of the 19th century in American Israel to the well-considered liturgical and other readjustments almost uniformly adopted, as we realize the ordered progress of the last four decades in the modern Jewish congregation, in ceremonial and customs, we are persuaded that this kind of authority, the democratic authority of a majority within a spiritually trained and learned rabbinate, has by no means proven itself either futile or unwise. It may have reached certain noble ends more slowly than might have been desired. It may have stopped abuses less spectacular-

ly than the circumstances required. But it kept American Israel from the peril of a hierarchy and of possible spiritual dragooning. It preserved, with some of its inconveniences, the liberal spirit of American Judaism. It defeated the crystalization of forms, the process of stylization and conventionalization which is the outcome of a more rigid and deputized authority.

And now after forty years we observe that the authority of this Conference, thus slowly developed and perhaps awkwardly wielded without any of the usual penalties imposed by hierarchical bodies, is more fully recognized and more highly respected than ever before.

It is well so; for the tasks that confront us, as we march into the fifth decade, are not one whit easier than those that faced that small group of wise and courageous leaders forty years ago. We face more fundamental issues, it seems, than they did. In large measure the time was with them, the spirit of the age was, as never before, in hearty accord with their outlook and program. Four decades after, the wind and current are set on quite another tack than ours, if they are not directly against us. The spirit of the new age seems to deny the very ground of our faith. It may be that it only seems to do so; our task, at any rate, is to discover the seeming and to convince our people of the abiding validity of religion in general, and Judaism in particular. In the earlier years, from 1889 to 1900, to speak roughly, the task was largely the removal of the debris, a courageous but yet a minor art; our task is architectonic, construction and reconstruction. We shall need, as we proceed toward our fiftieth year, the solidarity in the ranks, the courage, the wise leadership and the passion for God and Israel and Truth which in all the forty years of its existence was vouchsafed unto our Conference. May God grant that this anniversary gird us for the high and difficult task before us, that it lay upon us the consecration of the hallowed memories that throng around us as we review the past, the memories of Wise and of Mielziner, of Kohler and of Hirsch, of Deutsch and of Berkowitz and of Krauskopf, and of Gries and of Heller; that as we continue the march the garments of our faith and the shoes of our courageous journeyings in the oft stony road taken by prophet and sage and rabbi throughout the ages wax not old upon us, as they have not thus far in our Conference journey of forty years.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Walter Gilbert Peiser: My first reaction to Rabbi Lefkowitz's paper was one of real pleasure: I was the recipient of a privilege of reading what seems to me a masterpiece before any one else; but my second reaction was one of worry, for it is mighty difficult to discuss an historical analysis, so complete, so unbiased, and so beautifully worded that, as it stands, it leaves scarcely anything to be desired. Nevertheless this opportunity of being before you is one that comes but seldom to any of us and I have determined, with your indulgence, to make the most of it; not going through the historical analysis again, but commenting upon one phase of it only: the problem of authority. Rabbi Lefkowitz makes the statement near the end of his paper: "Since that time (1906) the question of authority through Synod or by any other means has not been opened." That, of course, is true in a way; but only in a way; and that gives me my orientation for this evening.

Whatever there is to the American Reform movement in Judaism that distinguishes it from other movements of Jewish life and belief ought to be found rather definitely stated [1] in the proceedings of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.[2] The only other official institution of American Reform, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has leaned, rightly or wrongly, upon the advice, influence, and progress of its rabbinical membership, and these in turn have mostly, I believe, been members of this Conference.[3] It is a fact that even most laymen seem willing to admit that the turn of events in this country, has left those Jews who are not rabbis possibly good organizers, ofttimes exceedingly qualified money raisers; even, at times, representative intellectuals and scholars, but woefully ignorant of the guiding principles of Jewish tradition, frequently lacking in the most elementary knowledge of Jewish culture.[4] The Conference has been the only body in America and, owing to the fact that Reform has never progressed greatly elsewhere, the most likely organization in the whole world to have developed some philosophy of the Reform

[1] Yearbook, C. C. A. R., 24:201, 202.
[2] Y. B., 1:4-7; 5:7.
[3] Y. B., 1:4; 23; 6:43, 44, 47; 7:12; 10:77; 13:13, 14; 14:28-31; 25: 131-134; 26:167.
[4] Y. B., 10:60.

movement from the germinal ideas thereof bequeathed to it by the early German reformers,[5] some *Weltanschauung* for the Liberal Jew.[6]

It seems to me, and this is the thesis and content of my discussion, (based upon concrete references culled from the thirty-eight volumes of the Year Book,[7] and appended [8] for inclusion in this volume), that the achievements of the Conference are bound up inextricably with the question of authority, the kind of authority tending toward union in liberal Israel.[9] In so far as the right of the Conference to act with authority has been recognized and granted, we have progressed; in so far as this right has been challenged and its devotion to the building up of set principles for the conduct of American Reform Judaism, has been hindered by its own members [10] who have zealously guarded what they considered their prerogative to be a law unto themselves,[11] (stating in defense thereof that Judaism is not legalism)[12] at just such points the Conference has become little more than an academic discussion group. Of course, even in this it provides the satisfaction of a need, especially for the men like myself from the smaller communities, who through the year miss the sharpening quality of thoroughly enlightened and unbiased discussion of religious and especially Jewish subjects, who partake here of an intellectual feast upon the fruits of the ripest of our scholarship; who, in renewing old associations, renew at the same time the student's attitude to life's problems, and who leave again with their minds filled with a new store of thoughts, and fancies, and ideals.[13] I cannot think of a vacation that could have more of a rebuilding effect upon the rabbi. Yet it is not for this reason that our congregations send us here;[14] this alone was not in the mind of the founder;[15] this, by itself, cannot counteract the anarchy that altogether too much

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5 Y. B., 8:11; 24:195.
6 24:221-222, 225.
7 Y. B., 1:5; 7:9.
8 I want to thank the sainted Dr. Heller and Rabbi Kory for the loan of the early volumes from their libraries.
9 Y. B., 23:113.
10 Y. B., 34:278.
11 Y. B., 34:311.
12 Y. B., 34:316.
13 Y. B., 6:43ff; 13:14.
14 Y. B., 7:X.
15 Y. B., 24:227; 1:19; 2: 8, 9; 3:9; 6:14; 8:16.

characterizes our religious life, yes, and even our pulpits today, any more than it was able to do in the case of the earlier German Reform Movement.[16] American Jewry has needed the recognition of some centralized authority, not the kind of authority of which so many of our men have been afraid, the authority that binds and cripples all free thought and free speech and that puts a stumbling block in the way of advancement, that constructs a hierarchy from which the men on the lower rungs of the ladder have no appeal,[17] and which is in reality not a Jewish heritage at all;[18] not the sort of authority that pronounces a *cherem,* for that would be contrary to the most vital principle of Reform;[19] but at least that kind of authority [20] that says: "Now this is the decision of the Conference,[21] built up after full discussion and careful deliberation.[22] Congregations in whose pulpits there are members of this body may look to hear preachments in accordance therewith[23] unless otherwise labeled, as the individual, personal opinion of their own leader or as his acceptance of some authority other than that of the Conference." In other words, it should be and has been expected of all of us that we express in our sermons and teachings definite, conclusive ideas about religion, about Judaism, about God, which have the approval of tradition as interpreted by a majority of this group,[24] through its forty sessions. When we ourselves have made some very careful and specialized study into some aspect of some particular Jewish problem that leads us to think otherwise in this one respect, of course, it is our duty to say so from our pulpits and elsewhere honestly, directly, and courageously; but with equal honesty, we should also state that therein we are out of agreement with the established idea of the Conference.[25] Otherwise we leave our people confused, misguided, in such a state

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[16] Y. B., 34:312; 4:74.
[17] Y. B., 24:204.
[18] Y. B., 6:130-2.
[19] Y. B., 34:246.
[20] Y. B., 1:83; 100-112; 3:14; 11:26; 24:170; 24:169; 24:201; 24:193.
[21] Y. B., 1:4.
[22] Y. B., 36:113.
[23] Y. B., 12:37.
[24] Y. B., 24:221, 2.
[25] Y. B., 33:64.
[25] Y. B., 24:237; 12:37.

of contradiction and uncertainty as to the tenets of their faith,[26] that they become shoddy in their religious thinking and ofttimes drift away from the synagog.[27]

Now if in accordance with this premise, I might relist in just a sentence the accomplishments of the Conference,[28] I would say that they were primarily three, in the order of their importance, the ritualistic publications, especially the Union Prayer Book,[29] all the responsa, including among these the scholarly papers presented at the conventions, and finally the many resolutions and pronouncements, including as most important among them the several formulations of a Code of Social Justice. I place the rituals first in the order of these achievements because they, of all the accomplishments of these forty years of activity, have succeeded in reaching out [30] with an, at least apparent, kind of authority and have brought about the approximate amount of uniformity which, I believe, should characterize the effects of all our work.[31] They have wandered into most of our Reform Synagogs and have forced their way into others and today they are held in almost as much reverence and with almost as much respect and even affection by some of our more loyal and devoted adherents as was the old Orthodox Siddur in the past. In these rituals the Conference has, at least theoretically, determined a course of prayer and worship; and it has been accepted, because of the prestige and influence of the leaders that compose our body, as *almost* binding authority, and that, in respect to what is, after all, the most serious and sacred concern of the real Jew, the manner in which he approaches his God. This, however, also contains a difficulty. The Union Prayer Book, and the rest of our ritualistic literature, as every other prayer book, represents of necessity,

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26 Y. B., 7:17, 18, 19.
27 Y. B., 3:16,17; 27:244ff, 301ff; 5:60; 8:15; 19:122, 123, 124; 14:75 ,78.
28 Y. B., 10:21; 13:21; 19:155; 24:224-245; 24:191-223.
29 (a) Union Prayer Book, Y. B., 1:27, 29, 30; 2:15, 16, 17; 3:21, 22, 23. (b) Union Hymnal, Y. B., 3:30; 6:60, 86; 9:102, 104; 22:212; 35:128, 129. (c) Sermons, Y. B., 5:39; 6:25. (d) Ministers' Handbook, Y. B., 4:95; 12:35; 20:126; 25:134; 25:79, 80; 37:163, 164. (e) Haggadah, 14:89; 16:86; 17:95. (f) Holiday Sermons, 19:94. (g) Meditations and Prayers, 30: 80. (h) Manual for Proselytes, 35:109-11; 37:193.
30 Y. B., 8:14; 5:22; 35; 6.
31 Y. B., 1:19; 24:63.

the prayerful reaction to certain theological and philosophical truths.[32] A prayer book to be thoroughly what it intends to be must therefore be constructed on the basis of a previously formulated creed. In a very general way we are agreed on a creed; but nevertheless the Conference has never lent any authority to any specific code of theological principles and we are all probably more or less in confusion as to details of that for which we as a united group stand, even though we have in a rather reserved way accepted the Pittsburg platform [33] and in the early days given tacit approval to the right of that powerful personality, Isaac M. Wise, to decide for us which of the many conflicting opinions should be accepted and what compromises for the sake of harmony should be made. At the time, when the first edition of the Union Prayer Book went to press, the Conference had really not been in existence long enough to have developed any thorough consensus of opinion in regard to the verities of the spiritual life and was forced, for the sake of pragmatic progress, of preventing dissention, and keeping the Conference together, to proceed in its prayer book work without the otherwise very necessary prerequisite of a definitely formulated creed and theology. The first edition was a beginning, ambitious, successful and effective. But since very soon after its publication, and continuing on through its revision to the very present day there have been those who have continually felt the absence of some affirmative attitude and some positive policy;[34] and have advocated therefore, the authorization of some detailed creed.[35] It was suggested most seriously by some that possibly a Synod might be created for that purpose.[36] For instance, the question of the difficulty of true Sabbath Day observance and its effect upon a Sunday ritual was honestly faced and discussed during the early days of the Conference,[37] as was also the problem of intermarriage [38] and the natural accom-

[32] Y. B., 34:332.
[33] Y. B., 1:31; 34:319.
[34] Y. B., 35:224.
[35] Y. B., 16:63.
[36] Vol. 14 of Y. B. is almost entirely concerned with Synod.
[37] Sunday-Sabbath hotly debated. 6:27; 12:103ff., 120ff., 133ff.; 13:55, 77, 101, 139-171; 14:97; 15:64; 16:113; 27:113.
[38] Y. B., 19:170, 184.

panying question as to what constituted a valid conversion.[39] Certain conclusions were reached on such questions from time to time; but they were so general and so broad in language, and so often changed by succeeding conventions, that they may almost be read in accordance with the personal interpretation of the reader. In true effect these important questions have never been finally solved, because they are ultimately theological and are therein dependent on a creed and as yet we have never exercised the authority requisite to formulate a creed. That, too, is the great defect,[40] not only in the first editions of the Union Prayer Book and its kindred rituals but in all subsequent ones as well; accounting in no small measure, for the many requests for revision [41] and for much of the dissatisfaction.[42] So to solve this difficulty the Synod idea was presented, but was objected to very strenuously,[43] some even saying that the Synod, in reality the most Jewish of institutions,[44] has no basis in our history; and in the end the idea was defeated.[45] In fact the advocacy of a formulated creed was opposed almost as vehemently[46] on the grounds that it was out of harmony with historic Judaism [47] as that it was both against Conference policy [48] and that it might tend to cause a schism,[49] it not being full realized that, without a creed, we might have a race or a nation, or a people with certain mores, but that we fail to have a religion [50] and accordingly have nothing truly spiritual to teach or preach. Creeds of Judaism have differed according to time, place, and group, it is true; but there has never been, in Jewish history, a section of Jewry that I know of, that has, at least for the current moment, refused to formulate its own beliefs;[51] and we must event-

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39 Y. B., 5:58; 6:68; 35:109-11; 37:193, 197.
40 Y. B., 17:113.
41 U. P. B. and Hymnal—See Index.
42 Y. B., 34:300; 35:150; 37:226, 200.
43 Y. B., 14:149; 10:59; 14:24.
44 Y. B., 10:132, 104; 14:108, 109.
45 Conference divided, Y. B., 14:161; 15:126, 69; 16:172.
46 Y. B., 16:61.
47 Y. B., 27:113.
48 Y. B., 26:160, 163.
49 Y. B., 15:83.
50 Y. B., 6:18.
51 Y. B., 38:247—Schechter *Studies in Judaism* 147-181.

ually formulate ours [52] or we shall be the exception. Our rituals, then, despite their supreme value to American Israel, and to the high credit of this Conference, are yet lacking in this one essential. We have not provided to go with them the definite attitudes and beliefs that make prayers live, a conception of God,[53] of the purpose of life, of the efficacy of prayer itself,[54] and the other eternal verities that must form the groundwork of our religion, if we have a religion—that must constitute the background of our faith, if we have a faith. There is no committee that can be formed of the most scholarly, most astute and most pious of our colleagues who could possibly improve upon our Union Prayer Book, meeting objections and ironing out inconsistencies, until the task of formulating and authorizing an acceptable creed is first completed.[55]

The other two achievements of the Conference may be passed over more quickly. They, too, despite their manifest worth, seem to show the same debility as the rituals, the lack of an acknowledgement of the authority necessary to give them vitality. Certainly the responsa, [56] (and I include among them the many scholarly papers and doctrinal reports and tracts, lectures and sermons), have been of the greatest aid especially to all the younger men among our group. There is nothing, with the exception of the Union Prayer Book itself, that has satisfied a real need for me, more than the collection of responsa that is contained now in the back of the Rabbi's Manual.[57] It gives us something definite to work with. We are able to answer questions aright that we would otherwise often clumsily trip up on;[58] and yet, when we come right down to it, there is not a single one of these responsa or articles that we have a right to accept as the opinion of the Conference, because the Conference has already established the principle that it does not hold itself responsible for the implications of

[52] I have formulated for myself a working creed, but individually formulated creeds cannot possess the sanctity of a creed expressing the feelings of the faith of our 300 rabbis.
[53] Y. B., 34:314; 38:255.
[54] Y. B., 38:268; 277, 278.
[55] Y. B., 30:100; 8:50; 16:72; 17:117; 18:106, 107; 21:76; 22:131; 23:166; 27:113.
[56] Some typical Responsa. Y. B.,2:66-128; 28:117; 30:108ff.; 30:53; 32:41, 42; 32:156-162; 33:58; 33:60-63; 35:134; 37:206.
[57] See list of Scholarly Papers in Index Volume.
[58] Y. B., 23:185.

any of these decisions.[59] Problems therefore that have disturbed are not yet solved, for there is no constituted authority to solve them. The answers that we have are in fact not the answers of American Reform at all, but are built upon the most orthodox of tradition including the Talmud and even the Schulḥan Aruch and are liberalized entirely on the testimony of one or two men. The resolutions and pronouncements are of course a little more definite, though with just a few exceptions,[60] they deal with matters that are not controverted or that are transitory; and often very important resolutions are completely negated by a contrary action within a very few years.[61] The Code of Social Justice [62] is the only one of our pronouncements that has ever received the necessary publicity to help make it effective and has therefore served an end tremendously important; while its details have been preached to most of our congregations as possessing the authority of the Conference in a manner without precedent, to my knowledge, in the case of any of our other declarations. It, of course, still covers but a small corner of the problems of social justice and in that it does not by any means answer all the groping and searching questions attached to our overspecialized, over-industrialized, over-scientific civilization; but, because it seems to possess authority, it is listened to and, I hope, acted upon, despite the fact that in some essentials it is contrary to the more selfish interests of many of our worshipers. That is an example of what a respect for authority is able to do.

Reform Judaism, possibly all Judaism, possibly all religion in fact, is today at the crossroads; it is passing through a crisis the like of which has not been faced throughout the ages.[63] The laxity that characterizes the attitude of the average layman may be that of the careless whom we may have always had among us; but their numbers are swollen and their indifference has crystallized, because intellectuals and men of science, in their skepticism and agnosticism

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[59] Y. B., 17:122; 17:123.
[60] Y. B., 3:36, 41; 23:135; 3:45; 6:72; 10:58, 59, 67; 13:46ff.; 25:134; 26:123; 35:133.
[61] Attitude towards Religious Instruction in Public Schools. Y. B., 22:148; 36:87. Attitude on Zionism: Y. B., 7:XLI; 11:76; 12:27, 89; 27:141; 28:134; 30:141; 38:140.
[62] Social Justice—See Index.
[63] Y. B., 24:192.

have made it "smart" to scoff at authority. We cannot be modern, in this meaning of the term, if we will preserve Judaism as a religion;[64] for religion, by definition, depends on authority. We must conquer our individualism and proceed to unified and orderly formulation of our beliefs and purposes. We must use the goodwill developed in these forty years to further more definite [65] achievements in the next forty, in which time American Judaism will have to complete its struggle for life or death and the responsibility for the outcome either way, will rest on us, the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Let us choose life that we may live.

Rabbi William F. Rosenblum: There have been so many formal and informal discussions of the central theme of this Fortieth Anniversary Conference that it is difficult at this closing hour of its deliberations to advance any comment, analysis or suggestion that has not been touched upon already in the various messages, reports and resolutions. However, it was Rabbi Lefkowitz who was charged with the specific duty of presenting a narrative of the aims and achievements of this organization during the forty years of its existence, an assignment which he has carried out with adequacy and distinction. His account articulates admirably with that of Dr. Philipson on the occasion of our Twenty-fifth Anniversary and serves to complete the summary of our activities from the year of inception in 1889 to this epochal day.

In preparation for this discussion I have had the gracious cooperation of Rabbi Lefkowitz who forwarded an advance copy of his paper to me over three weeks ago, a happy eventuality which, I am told, is at variance with conference "tradition." I have also read through the Year Books covering the last fifteen years and made reference to those of earlier sessions. In addition, Rabbi Peiser intimated to me that his discussion would confine itself to the question of Synodal Authority raised in the main paper. So that I do not

[64] Y. B., 34:227.
[65] Y. B., 34:231, 313.

come here unprepared. There is little, however, that I can offer by way of factual supplementation or commentary. I therefore make bold to submit an interpretative word regarding the aims and achievements of our Conference, not so much from the aspect of the immediate responsiveness of our members, but of the results as reflected in the actions and reactions of the congregants to whom we minister as well as the larger community which we seek to motivate.

The recent agendae of the biennial conventions of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Brotherhood study under the title "The Voice of the Jewish Laity" and the preliminary epitome of the survey which has been completed under the direction of Dr. Lee K. Frankel afford us an opportunity to read the thoughts of our laymen. We cannot evaluate the service of this rabbinical Conference without reference to the views and demands of the large body of men and women who constitute articulate Reform Judaism.

II

One of the significant achievements of the Central Conference of American Rabbis as noted by Rabbi Lefkowitz concerns the Union Prayer Book and the various handbooks which have been produced and published by us. He seems to me to enunciate the principle that there must be *successive* revisions of our liturgical literature in order to meet the preferences of the laity. While it may be true that "the very fundamentals of the Reform Movement recognize flux and movement in religious expression," there is danger that the flux may become too rapid and unrestrained so that the stream of faith and of worshipfulness may run into a sea of uncertainty and restlessness from which the next flow is into the vast ocean of indifference . . . and oblivion. Perhaps, what is needed to keep the liturgical achievements of our Conference from repeated attack is not so much a policy of constant revision of the Prayer Book as the compilation of "An Anthology of Prayers and Readings for Pulpit and Pew" from which may be selected inspirational and devotional material as supplements to or substitutes for parts

of the standard service. Such an anthology, incidentally, might help to preserve the many fine contributions which members of the Conference have presented or will present to our Liturgical Committee instead of having them go into the wastebasket because of the arbitrariness of some committee or sub-committee, or the purely physical limitations of the prayer book of established size.

At all events, whatever our pride in our liturgical accomplishments during the past four decades, is it too far afield to suggest that the dissatisfaction of our laity is not born of the prayer book we have adopted but of the tendency of our rabbis to have the sermon overshadow the supplications, the homilies to outrank holiness, and the lecture to supersede the liturgy? Mayhap we have been so occupied during the past forty years with the language of our *prayers* that we have neglected to keep our *pray-ers* vocal. This is our age of בינה, of understanding. Very well, then, let us pause for a more detached consideration of our record in the matter of ritual. We may find much to correct before we start once again to revise.

III

Rabbi Lefkowitz, being the very embodiment of kindliness and optimism, has been overgenerous in his commendation of the services of this Conference in "mitigating the rigors and asperities of the competitive system which, coming out of the market places, had invaded the precincts of the synagog." I cannot coincide with such complimentary analysis. Experience and observation, both as an interested layman before entering upon my studies at the Hebrew Union College and as a rabbi only three years in the ministry (and therefore the more frequently subjected to the exigencies of pulpit consideration and selection), dictate a widely divergent conclusion. The "methods of the market place" are still in vogue in the selection of men for the pulpits. Even our Conferences are treated by some laymen as rabbinical Fairs or Expositions to which they repair "to look the rabbis over" and to "overlook" them.

There is need for a quickened sense of dignity and spirituality in this respect so that our colleagues may not lend themselves in any way to such commercialization of the sacred precincts of our Conference halls. Let laymen, if they must, give weight to size, timbre of the voice, qualifications of the *rebitzin*, or even to the Nordic attributes of the pulpit aspirant's name, but let us not delude ourselves that the "rigors and asperities of the competitive system" have been eliminated. There is room for further progress in this important department of our activity. The more spiritual the manner of filling our pulpits, the more religiously minded will become the occupants of our pews. And, who knows, the more frequently will our pews be occupied.

While I do not concur in every detail of Dr. Enelow's comment on this question in his annual message as President, let us not look back with too great tenderness upon our record in the matter of rabbinical competition. Let us study with detachment and sincerity "the new technique of competing for a rabbinical position" to the end that religious earnestness and saintliness of character and aspiration may continue to be the deciding qualifications for Jewish religious leadership rather than those artificialities of pulchritude and vocal sonority which should be the peculiar pride of the Hollywood entertainment factories. Our people can become holy only if their leaders hold fast to the ideals of priesthood.

IV

Our Social Justice Commission and our Committee on International Peace have formulated creeds and commitments that reflect vision and boldness. And recently the expostulations of a Northwestern layman in this field have won the approbation of many of our colleagues. Yet, it may not be mere platitude to remark that the sublime attitudes incorporated in these pronouncements have not found as frequent translation into conduct in times of stress and crisis as our prophetic heritage and our vigorous protestations should justify us in expecting. Far more important than

the question of synodical authority with its attendant dangers of ecclesiastical fascism is that of rabbinical complacence.

The chief function of our members is not to act as intermediaries between their congregants and God but as intermediaries between these men and women and their neighbors to the end that Justice may be more than a mere creed and Moral Living more than a convenient sermon theme. Ours the compulsion to be *protestants* against social insufficiencies, against moral degeneration, against cultural decline, against spiritual decay, against human enmities. Ours, therefore, the obligation as a body to rally to the cause of every colleague (as we have done occasionally) who has suffered unhappiness or even martyrdom because of the courage to comport himself in accordance with these lofty aspirations. Here and there rabbis have struck at vicious social and industrial conditions with outstretched arm and mighty tongue. Let us learn to follow in their wake. Then our longings for social happiness and international peace may become actualities in the *olam hazeh.* We have received many assurances of Justice and Peace and Love in the *olam habah.* These we shall inherit. It is in this world that we must strive to win Justice and Peace and Love for ourselves and our neighbors. And it will be a fine preparation for the enjoyment of them in the world to come!

V

The paper under discussion has given considerable space to the record of this Conference in the matter of Zionism. It reveals that we have retraced our steps appreciably so that we are at the stage of cooperation with the Jewish Agency (a course of action which was initiated by my senior colleague, Dr. Abram Simon, when he was president of the Conference). However, Rabbi Lefkowitz seems anxious that we are leaving ourselves open to the suspicion of endorsing the political aspects of Zionism. Let me remark, then, that no matter whether we term it "entering into the work of Palestinian rehabilitation" or of "assisting in the

cultural re-awakening of the people of Israel" the truth is that our members, largely because of the influx of new blood differently origined from that of the earlier group, have an attachment to Palestine as a spiritual homeland and to Jerusalem as the refreshing waterbrook from which we may quaff the elixir of religious rebirth. Inferiority complexes having gone out of fashion, we need no longer yield to the promptings of Ghetto atavism or cheap chauvinism and shout from the housetops that "America is our Palestine and Washington our Jerusalem." (If there be any Jerusalem in the West, it is New York that has a right to the distinction). Whatever our views, we can now entertain them with naturalness and equanimity and less passion. As witness of the changing trend of Conference thought about Palestine, it is significant to note that many of our members are at this very hour in attendance upon the sessions of the Zionist Convention being held in this city. And we do not label them as heretics or disloyal Americans because of this desertion of our concluding program for Zion. We are "forty years old" and therefore gifted with tolerance and a sense of humor.

VI

Rabbi Lefkowitz has made only incidental reference to our participation in the Good Will movement. This may have been due to a discriminating sense of delicacy and propriety. Recent developments in that field have demonstrated that whatever the *will* of our members with regard to inter-denominational fellowship and cooperation, the results thus far have not been as *good* as anticipated. Perhaps it is fortuitous that the differences which have existed among the Christian members of the Good Will Committee about the continuance of conversionist work among Jews should have come to the surface almost coincident with this Fortieth Anniversary session. Having arrived at the age of *binah*, it is given us now to understand that during the next decade we should devote ourselves more intensively to an exposition of our faith to our neighbors without stressing that

fraternization which may nurture within their breasts the tender hope that the "lost sheep of Israel" may yet return to the gentle shepherd from whom they are presumed to have wandered. Moreover, that we should promote more extensively the program of the Synagog Council of America as an agency for Good Will between Jew and Jew. The world will understand us better and leave us alone the moment we Jews understand each other better and do not stand aloof each from the other. Largely on the initiative of members of this Conference, it is customary in many cities for Jewish and non-Jewish congregations to hold Union Services on Thanksgiving Day. The thought occurs to me that it would be tremendously helpful for the Jewish congregations of all wings to get together for a Union Service (in all cities where there are more than one congregation) on some such singularly Jewish day as *Simḥath-Torah*. We cannot expect "all Israel to be one" but such a service will at least help them to be "at one."

VII

The underlying aims of this Conference remain the same. The preservation of Judaism; its exposition to our people and its interpretation to the world; its application to daily life and to the eternal questionings—these are the achievements for which we organized.

A study of our congregations will reveal that there is a large mass of unaffiliated whom we do not reach at all; that within our ranks there are vast numbers who are infrequent participants in our worship; that the young men and women who are the real builders of progress are in too telling a minority (70% of our membership in congregations is over 40 years of age); that there is petulance with the failure of our preachers to stress the purely religious and spiritual in our pulpit discussions; that a notable percentage of the descendants of our pioneer Reform families (many trained under men who were the early graduates of the Hebrew Union College and among the first members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis) have defected to

the cloisters and cathedrals where are to be found that very formalism and ceremonialism or that very pretense at miraculous regeneration of body and mind which Reform Judaism has so nonchalantly discarded—these and other factors lead me to urge that, while rejoicing in our many accomplishments during the past forty years, we give heed also to the deficiencies and the disappointments.

We, above all others, are interested neither in self-delusion nor self-praise. *Arbaim le-binah*—forty years is the age of understanding. Therefore we have brought the light of introspection to bear upon the narrative of the four decades we have been in existence. We are entering now upon the decade of counsel—*ḥamishim le-etzah.* Let us, then, take counsel to the end that the achievements of the future may bring into more complete realization the aspirations of the sainted teacher and master who initiated this Conference and of his colleagues and disciples who have gone through all the ages and stages to this glorious anniversary of *binah,* —of understanding .

L

PROPOSALS OF FUTURE WORK FOR THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

EDGAR F. MAGNIN

I appreciate the confidence that has been imposed in me by the program committee and the officers of this Conference in their assumption that I might possibly have something of value to offer on so vital a subject as its future aims. Indeed, I rejoice in the opportunity to present for the consideration of my colleagues a number of views, relating to the subject in hand, which I have been churning over in my mind for quite some time. Let me assure you, that they are projected more in the nature of suggestions than definite recommendations. They are intended to serve as a basis for discussion and further study by a competent committee or a number of them. They are not delivered in a spirit of dogmatic finality or of criticism.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis has grown during the past forty years from a tiny and struggling organization to the proportions of a great and dignified body. Though not a synod, it has virtually attained the prestige of one. Its decisions are accepted as unwritten law by all liberal Jews in this as well as in other lands. Its immortal founder and his little band of loyal followers builded better than they themselves could possibly anticipate.

The most important activities of the Conference during the past four decades may be summarized under the following headings:

1. The formation of decisions relating to the reinterpretation and re-evaluation of Jewish theological teachings in conformance with modern thought and culture.

2. The re-evaluation of prayers, ceremonials and Jewish traditional practices in general, with reference to modern thought and changed modes of living.

3. The presentation of scholarly material in the way of lectures bearing on all manner and phases of Jewish life and thought.

4. The effort to interpret Liberal Judaism for our own people and

for the world at large by the publication of tracts and other literary material.

5. The preparation of Prayer Books, Hymnals, Hagaddas and similar works intended for use by Reform Jews.

6. The establishment of a code of ethics bearing upon the relations existing between rabbi and colleague, as well as between those of rabbi and congregation.

7. The establishment and encouragement of a Pension Fund to take care of our colleagues who may require such assistance in their old age.

8. The proclamation of protests or of commendation bearing upon certain vital issues affecting the welfare of our people or humanity at large, whenever the occasion may have required the expression of such pronouncements.

These, in short, have been the aims and achievements of this body. Every one of them is rightly included within the scope of our prerogatives, and in fact, results from the very nature of our organization. To my way of thinking they are all necessary and should continue to arrest our attention in the future.

What concerns me more is the methodology of our meetings and the general character of our programs. Being of a somewhat practical turn of mind, and being at the same time sensitive to the many changes in American Jewish life and thought, I am of the opinion that this body might accomplish more for its members and their followers were it to devote its attention more intimately, more frankly and more consecutively to the solution of the many *concrete problems* that confront all of its members in a *work-a-day* world during three hundred and sixty-five days of the year.

No man, however wise and learned, can possibly possess the monopoly of wisdom and discernment, nor is he able all alone to attack the many and complex problems with which he is constantly faced. He requires the suggestions and points of view of his colleagues, both young and old. However individualistic his tendencies may be, he is generally compelled, or at least desires, to rely upon some kind of authority or precedence.

In this rapidly changing age, modes of thinking and of practice are challenged almost without warning. The rabbi today no longer lives

the simple, stereotyped and routine life of twenty years ago. His functions have changed tremendously and the scope of his activities has become enlarged. Nor do his followers comprise the same group that constituted the first adherents to Reform Judaism in this country. These were of German extraction and came to this land with the traditions and habits of thinking that formed the background of their childhood in the little towns of Central Europe. Today, the pews in the Reform Temples are being filled with their children, or grandchildren, who have been brought up in a distinctly American environment, and more particularly, by those of our co-religionists of their descendants, who hail from Eastern Europe.

Moreover, currents of opinion vary from time to time. The first era of Reform was characterized by a certain abandonment of traditional practices. The complexities of modern city life with all their diversions and economic interests, brought about a certain laxity and indifference to the concerns of the synagog. For some reason, the reaction seems to have set in. Judging by the survey which was made by the Brotherhoods a year ago—and which by the way, though commendable, should have been initiated by the rabbis themselves and not by the laymen—the Reform Jew of today is manifesting a real and unmistakable hunger for something warmer, more mystical, more sentimental, more emotional, more simple, more human and more traditional than that which he has been in the habit of receiving. Whether this is a step in the right direction or not—and personally, I believe it is—is a matter for this body to determine, if possible, after having made a careful analysis of its causes and results. And if it is, then the implications involved and actual technique of carrying out the application of such decisions as may be reached here after careful deliberation, ought to be discussed and threshed out even to the smallest detaeil.

It is for this reason that I recommend that the meetings of the Conference consist chiefly—not entirely—of round tables similar to those conducted by other powerful organizations. Meeting in smaller cities, afar from the distraction and diversions of a metropolis, a full week, at least once a year, might well be spent in the intimate, helpful, friendly and frank interchange of opinions and suggestions, in which the youth emanating with the fire of enthusiasm from the halls of the

seminary and the hoary headed, dignified and mellowed septuagin-arian bearing the scars of many heroic battles, but calm in the light of the setting sun, might participate. Here scholar and theorist might happily hold intercourse with the man of practical affairs in a sympathetic vein and in a language that both can understand. In short, I would have this Conference become a *kind of post graduate school for the acquisition of such knowledge and suggestions as might prove helpful and stimulating* throughout the entire year, and which will tend to bring about a greater unity of purpose, effort and method between all of its members, wherever they may be privileged to serve.

Among the round tables alluded to, one should certainly be held on the important subject of practical Homiletics. Whether for good or ill, the sermon today has become the central feature of the Reform Jewish service. If the synagog is the most important institution that Judaism possesses, the pulpit has become and rightfully so, the symbol and exponent of all its history, beliefs and ethical teachings.

Once a year, many of our colleagues might be happy to compare notes and experiences. Such vital topics might well be discussed as: choice of subjects, selection of materials, manner and technique of presentation. Old forms of homiletic technique are rapidly giving way to new ones. The matter of employing non-Jewish material, or utilizing sensational or vulgar methods, which in some quarters is becoming all too prevalent, might well deserve some consideration at our hands. The proper place and treatment of book reviews and dramatic criticisms, should be considered. Even the question of whether our sermons are apt to be a bit too ponderous and pedantic for the common taste, or too shallow and crude on the other hand, might hold a rightful place in such a discussion.

It is true of course that every man should and must express his own individuality and opinions, and that in the end, he is likely to be guided by his own innate temperament and instincts, but this does not detract from the benefit received from balancing his own *modus operandi* by contrast with other minds of dissimilar views and temperaments.

The interpretation of our beautiful synagog liturgy should also come in for its share of attention. From time to time, the demand has come forth from both layman and rabbi for a revised ritual.

While there may be some basis for discontent, I am fully convinced that no change of ritual will ever satisfy everybody, nor am I without the opinion that the present liturgy, properly interpreted, and with some few minor alterations and variations of stress to suit individual situations can be made far more effective than it is today. It does not require the vote of an entire Conference to remedy the present conditions, nor could we guarantee a happier state of affairs whatever the concensus of opinion happened to be. The personal element is always a far more effective factor than anything ancient or modern that has been inscribed upon paper. Words without readers are empty signs and meaningless symbols. It requires flesh and blood and spirit to make things live. Only an Ezekiel can walk into a valley of bones and breathe new life into them. I am thoroughly certain that the average synagog ritual, including its music, whatever it may consist of, can be immeasurably enhanced, dramatized and enriched by an improved interpretation of the present prayer book. What treatment should be accorded it, is a matter for all of us to debate. The question is not so simply solved, nor can it ever be propounded until we meet together and grapple with it sanely and firmly.

During the past few years, a marked improvement must be noted by all impartial observers in the operation and curriculum of our Religious Schools. The standards of education have constantly increased and are likely to advance in the future. We are receiving more and better text books. The teaching staff is of a higher caliber. The budget allotted to religious education, particularly in the larger cities, has been considerably increased. At the same time, no system of education that is confined to a few hours a week and is dependent upon the whims and caprices of apathetic parents, can possibly measure up to the standards of public schools, that enjoy the authority of the state or of the private school with its social prestige.

In the smaller cities, class room facilities are generally inadequate and the teaching staff is comprised of volunteers; often children of different ages are grouped together in one class. To this day, we have neither a standard curriculum practical enough to be utilized everywhere, nor enough adequate text books for all our schools.

Children moving from one community to another, cannot continue their studies just where they left off in their former school.

Now, I realize full well that this problem cannot be solved as quickly as some of us would prefer; nor am I impatient with or too critical of those to whom the task of solving it has been entrusted. But meanwhile, many flaws in the present system can be corrected by an adequate exchange of ideas and suggestions between our colleagues.

Individual experiments made here and there, with varying degrees of success or failure, ought to be written up and analyzed at this meeting in the self same manner as physicians compare their clinical notes.

A round table on the subject of practical religious pedagogy should include such topics for discussion as text books, curriculum, selection of teachers, cooperation of parents, incentives for better work and loyalty on the part of the students; student clubs and center activities, including the presentation of pageants and dramatics, the Boy Scout Movement and the synagog, synagog attendance on the part of pupils and parents, parent-teacher meetings, distribution of badges and pins, manner of keeping records, school orchestras, selection and manner of singing hymns, children's services, student self-government, honor rolls, project work and a number of other matters too numerous to mention. These topics are neither trivial nor unworthy of the rabbi's attention.

Likewise I would include the consideration of all matters pertaining to Bar Mitzvah and, of course, Confirmation. Many changes have arisen during the past few years in connection with the latter, such as congregational receptions, discouraging the giving of presents, modes of dress and the like. Some are excellent; others may prove to be nothing but fads and will in time be discarded.

All such matters should be studied with the utmost care.

Many other subjects might well be analyzed across the table. I shall not state the problems arising out of them and all their many implications. Suffice it if I merely hint at them.

They are: The use of the radio, pastoral calls in large congregations, weddings and funerals, technique and spirit of publicity, adult education, week-day education, Hebrew for young and old, synagog music and architecture, the place and selection of hymns in the syn-

agog service, the matter of membership, dues and seatings, the rabbi and his board of trustees, interchange of courtesies and methods of cooperation between rabbis and between congregations, the so-called Christian Science Jew, the Jew who leans towards Jewish Science, conversion, intermarriage and Zionism, the rabbi in relation to the poor and the neurasthenic, the rabbi in relation to philanthropic, industrial, social and civic movements, the rabbi in good-will meetings—their value—and possible lack of dignity and apologetic attitude often unconsciously displayed in connection with them, the rabbi in relation to legislation e. g., the Bible in the public schools.

These are only a few of the topics that ought to be discussed by this body in the manner already mentioned. Each and every one of them opens up vistas of thought and presents a large number of questions that demand solution or some sort of common agreement.

The difficulties involved are not of a general nature requiring pronouncements on the part of our entire Conference, nor should they be broadcast in the daily press in a spectacular way for the benefit of the laymen and often for his amusement. They are details, strictly professional in their scope and appeal, technical and oft times delicate. They bear upon the employment of the very best judgment and the exercise of diplomacy and tact in specific cases. The decisions reached may not prove advisable in all cases or in every community or congregation, nor is the minister bound legally or morally to act upon them. But the chances are, he will be glad to utilize any helpful suggestion that might be brought to his notice out of the wealth of material that his colleagues might project during a year's hard labors.

It has often occurred to me that sectional meetings held at various geographical centers over the land from time to time may not be out of place. These meetings, of course, would be held under the direction and jurisdiction of the parent body. Such resolutions as might be offered should of course be confined to local projects and issues, or should not in spirit or principle conflict with those of the national organization. At such meetings, minor difficulties and disagreements arising out of misunderstandings between colleagues, or between them and their congregations, might be amicably adjusted. Colleagues who do not often see each other might become better acquainted; compare notes, thresh out doubtful questions of policy on

one subject or another. The very presence of such gatherings would inspire the layman and impress him with a sense of unity, cooperation and seriousness existing among the members of the rabbinate. Medical, legal, dental, commercial and fraternal organizations all hold sectional meetings to stimulate local interest and enthusiasm. As far as I can determine the psychology of rabbis is not fundamentally different from that of the layman, or at least, should not be so. Human nature is the same everywhere and among all classes and groups of men.

I like to think of the rabbinate in terms of a calling rather than of a profession. To serve "in the vineyard of the Lord" is a privilege, a blessing and an opportunity for doing good, and offers compensations more to be desired than either wealth or the exercise of mere power. I am very jealous of our dignity and our status and in this respect account myself second to none. But after all we are leaders. Leaders cannot be mere theorists. Nor is practicality, properly motivated and conservatively exercised, antithetical to ethics, idealism or dignity. The greatness of Isaac M. Wise consisted largely in his knowledge of men and his human contact with them. This is in thorough conformance with the Jewish ethos, which ever placed action above precept, and converted general religious and moral principles into laws and definite observances. *Lo hamidrash ikor elo hamaase.* "Not theory but practice" is excellent and typical rabbinical procedure. And did not our sages also say: "The study of the law combined with deeds, keeps a man away from sin."

Well then, if we are leaders, let us lead and not follow. And the best way to lead is to presumably accept people as they are, and without their ever realizing it, lift them higher than they ever dreamt of rising.

After all, we are engaged in the greatest task to which any human being can consecrate himself: the presentation and the propagation of a faith that has withstood all the onslaughts of time and place and that will endure until man shall be no more.

There is no reason to be impatient or discouraged. We are in a transition period. Reform Judaism is still young. We have every reason to believe that Judaism in America is on the upward trend despite certain superficial signs of dormancy, and ours is the duty and

the holy privilege of breathing the breath of life into the dry bones of Israel. "And He said unto me, Son of man these bones are the whole house of Israel; behold they say, our bones are dried up and our hope is lost, we are clean cut off. Therefore, prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves, O My people, and I will bring you into the land of Israel . . . I will put My spirit in you, and ye shall live."

DISCUSSION

Frederick I. Rypins: We are grateful for the stimulating paper of Rabbi Magnin. It is clear, concise, and direct. It may well be as he intended it, "a basis for discussion and further study by a competent committee." It should call forth other proposals of future work that will aid our officers in shaping the course of the Conference over the next decade which will conclude with the jubilee of our organization.

Our colleague has begun his paper with an approval of the past activities of the Conference which he has classified under eight headings. His words are, "Everyone is rightly included—all are necessary and should continue to arrest our attention in the future." But he immediately adds, "What concerns me more is the methodology of our meetings and the manner of transacting the business before us."

This impresses itself as the main theme of his paper; the need for a change in the methods of the Conference. He urges this for three reasons; first, the advisability of dealing with concrete problems; second, the many difficulties that constant change brings to the rabbi today;—his words are, "In this rapidly changing age, modes of thinking and of practice are challenged almost without warning;" and third, the reaction toward a more mystical, traditional and emotional type of religion, as indicated by the Brotherhood Survey.

The change in method recommended is the use of Round Tables. These will form a postgraduate school. They should discuss a number of vital problems which our colleague has

been kind enough to list at some length. To me, this is the most suggestive and stimulating part of the paper. These problems will be good to refer to again and again, as most of them are progressive, assuming new aspects from year to year.

One other point in the paper remains to be mentioned. That is the subject of sectional conferences, which supplements admirably the spirit desired in the round tables, of mutual helpfulness amongst our colleagues.

A word of comment on each of the main points of the paper may be in place at this time. First, as to the change in methods. That comes under the subject, "Proposals of Future Work for the Central Conference of American Rabbis" as a method is a type of work. There are engineering organizations in our country which are concerned exclusively with perfecting business practice and technique. Likewise, a large part of our educational system is concerned with training students in a method of sustained investigation and suspended judgment. In each of these, a method is the main aim or object of work. However, granted that the theme of the paper comes under the subject assigned, there is considerable doubt in my mind as to whether it covers that subject.

The program committee in choosing this title probably had in view the fact that this is the fortieth year of the Conference. It hoped for a challenging statement of great things to be done in the next decade. It may have thought, "What are the statesman-like proposals that will make the next ten years a period worthy of succeeding the forty years that have preceded it?" How will the Conference show its leadership in the Jewish Community of America by guiding the course of the development of our religion, by improving conditions in Jewry, by planning great things for days to come. Methods are important in their place, but they do not answer the question, "Are there great pieces of work for the Conference in the coming years and, if so, what are they?"

Of course, there is much that is desirable in the round tables. However, the round table has been a feature of our conferences in the past. Who will soon forget that memorable discussion at Cedar Point upon the "Present Status and Future Outlook of Reform Judaism" that made us entirely oblivious to the tornado that raged around us? Our discussion lasted not two hours as planned, but four, and then was ended reluctantly. Certainly, it would be excellent to have more of such round tables.

It is, when we take up the last point of the paper, however, that considerable difference of opinion may develop. Will the sectional meeting be an aid to the Central Conference or will it prevent some of our colleagues from attending our annual meetings? If this question is kept clearly in mind, the sectional organizations could counteract any danger therein by supporting the central body loyally. Certainly, there is much to be said in favor of such meetings where comradeship, mutual helpfulness and the stimulation of sectional problems would assert their influence.

But undoubtedly there are other proposals for future work for the Conference than a change in methods. In the American Israelite of June 14th, the leading editorial, which we may presume was composed by our esteemed colleague, Jonah B. Wise, suggests that a rabbinical body should take the lead in bringing unity into the ranks of American Israel. There is no reason to infer that he means a dead colorless uniformity or a series of compromises based on expediency. There is the tremendous possibility of a program of mutual cooperation between the three wings of the American Jewish community without any surrender of principles or of ceremonies. There is at least one congregation in our country that has both Reform and Orthodox services conducted regularly for its members. I am aware that many difficulties arise at once. I also know that an approach to this subject has been made by the Synagog Council under the leadership of Dr. Abram Simon, who could not be surpassed in his ability to bring different people together. The subject

is too vast even to outline at this time but a method of approach might be considered. Could we not have the separate branches of Jewry plan their educational material so that a great deal of misunderstanding should be averted? We do not want our children to regard all of our conservative brethren as hypocrites. We do not want a great part of our orthodox coreligionists to believe that we are *Goyim.* In my humble capacity, I have been glad to aid in the establishment of Orthodox and Conservative religious schools in commmunities where there was no one else to supply the motive force. My loyalty to the children of our faith and my desire to help them was far stronger than a desire to urge the righteousness of my own position. Our slogan might be, "Let us respect our fellow Jews."

In one state of the Union, namely, North Carolina, an actual program for unity has been worked out by the North Carolina Association of Jewish Women, which brings together all branches of Jewry under its banner, including Sisterhoods, Sections of the Council of Jewish Women, Hadassahs and Ladies' Auxiliaries. It has an active program of organization work, Jewish educational work and Religious School activities. It sponsors fifty-eight religious schools ranging in size from five to forty pupils. This indicates briefly the splendid spirit of unity and cooperation which exists among Jews in North Carolina. It has developed gradually over a period of four years. It shows what can be done.

I would, therefore, suggest that our Conference consider a program for promoting unity in American Israel and take the lead in this field as soon as possible.

As a second proposal for future work by the Conference, there is the possibility of our encouraging the growth of new ceremonies and forms in our religion native to our people. How will we satisfy the hunger for spiritual things that has been indicated by the Brotherhoods and has been referred to in the paper of Rabbi Magnin better than by creating new institutions to take the place of those we have

given up. There is no question that we have discarded much that is colorful and human in our religion. There are holidays that have little meaning for us. We are not a shepherd people and are not greatly stirred by the feast of the Passover and the Paschal lamb, certainly not as much as if our life was centered around the flocks of sheep. Neither are we an agricultural people. The ripening of the olives, the grapes, and the barley in Palestine, mean little to us today and therefore many people care not at all for Succoth or Shabuoth. A clear contrast between the past and present is found in this incident. A few days after Succoth, one of our people mentioned, "Will it never stop raining?" I asked, "Do you remember that you prayed for rain last week?" The rest of the discussion is not important if it is clear that this man prayed for something that he did not want, in fact, something that would injure his retail business, whereas, if he had been a farmer he might have been made happy by this same answer to his prayer.

However, there are still important and significant occasions in our life. Could we not develop a beautiful ceremony around the enrollment of our little children in our religious school for the first time? Perhaps this could be at Succoth, when our schools usually open. Could we not have a special occasion early in the fall when our young men and girls leave for college? There is an opportunity for a family festival at the building of a new home, which may mean so much to those who erect it. In our small community, a lovely custom has grown up in connection with the Friday night service before a wedding. The Temple is decorated for the occasion and everyone of the family and immediate friends come to mark the occasion in honor of the engaged couple. The service may include a special prayer or sermon. Yet, without any special feature, it can still bring more of a religious note to the wedding week than many a society wedding that is entirely social or little better than a drinking party.

This matter sums itself up in my mind in the question,

How can we find a natural expression in our American life for the mystical and emotional side of our religion?

In conclusion, I trust that the mention of these two subjects, Unity in Israel and the Development of New Ceremonies as proposals for future work by the Conference will call forth other proposals that will show Rabbi Magnin he has really started us thinking along the lines of his paper.

Rabbi Freehof: All the papers presented this evening were excellent, but I will merely have time to touch on one of the papers of the discussion, namely, that of Rabbi Pizer. His contention was that the weakness of the Conference lies in the fact that the Conference has never exercisd its authority to formulate a definite creed and he states further that Ancient Israel has always formulated a creed and if we do not do so, we shall be the exception. While Rabbi Pizer was very enthusiastic in presenting his subject, I am wondering if he is not mistaken. Every era in the development of Christianity developed a creed from the Council of Nice down from the centuries; but at only one time was a creed developed among us—that by Maimonides—and that raised a storm of protest that has not yet died out. When Maimonides did formulate his creed, one of his opponents said, "We have not thirteen articles of faith, we have six hundred and thirteen, they are the Mizvoth." In that answer lies one of the essential differences between the mood of Christianity and the Mood of Judaism. It is noteworthy that in all the vast literature of the Talmud which took almost a millenium to gather, there is nowhere a clear statement of what a Jew must believe, but there are definite and explicit statements of what a Jew must do. In other words, the Mizvoth and not the creed have always been emphasized by the Jew. Whereas Christianity is deductive, believing that if we believe the right thing, we will come to right action, Judaism is inductive, believing that if we do the right action, we will arrive at the right belief.

To me one of the greatest achievements of the Central

Conference of American Rabbis has been an unconscious achievement. In its responsa it has formulated its ideal of Mizvoth and has never tried to force upon its members any creed. It has followed the glorious Jewish tradition of believing that if we are careful of our actions, we need not bother much about forcing on each other a definite creed.

Rabbi Brickner: I believe another reason why the Mizvoth have been more important in the life of the people than creed has been because the emphasis in Jewish life throughout the ages has been very largely upon the people and its integrity, and the integrity of the people depends upon stimulating among them a lightmindedness through activity and action. Another falacy involved in having a Synodical organization for the formulation of a creed in Liberal Judaism lies in the fact that a creed would be consistent if we still retained a supernatural conception of religion; but when we emphasize the humanistic approach to religion rather than the supernatural, the aspirational qualities of the human heart become the source of man's religiosity. Religion, as Whitehead has thoroughly pointed out, is what a man does with his solitude, is what a man is in his relationship between his soul and his God, approaching God from within man. There can be no more a religious creed than there can be a creed about poetry, art or music or esthetics. No two individuals can really have the same religion though all of us can conform to the same customs to the same Mizvoth, to the same conduct.

I would touch on a point raised by Rabbi Magnin; I think the rabbinate is both a calling and a profession because we are both a calling and a profession. We are involved in more than technical problems, we are more than merely an aggregate, physicians or lawyers. I myself made some suggestions several years ago concerning the reorganization of the methodology of the Conference. I suggested the morning session be devoted to business; the afternoon to professional problems and round tables and that the evenings be given up to large public meetings where important

questions could be discussed in a broad way, not merely by members of the Conference but by experts, people with vision who are technically trained. I am thinking of the way in which the institute of politics at Williamstown is organized. To the round tables there are attracted men depending upon their specific interests. Then an hour or an nour and a half is set aside to general Conference to which the problems of each round table are brought in in digested form and discussed; the evening meetings are devoted to general questions bringing stimulation and inspiration to the membership. In that way a well rounded week's work sends you away with definite information in technique about your specific problems and gives you the vision of true inspiration.

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Philadelphia—	
Rodeph Sholom—Collection	43.00
Reading	58.00
Uniontown	11.00
York	6.00
Rhode Island	
Providence—	
Temple Beth-El Men's Club	25.00
Tennessee	
Chattanooga—Collection	44.50
Nashville—	
Vine Street Temple	150.00
Texas	
Dallas—	
Temple Emanu-El—Collection	391.50
El Paso—	
Temple Mt. Sinai—Collection	206.00
Fort Worth	66.50
Galveston—	
B'nai Israel Congregation	250.00
Houston—	
Congregation Beth Israel	75.00

San Antonio—	
Jewish Social Service	100.00
Tyler	10.00
Utah	
Salt Lake City	39.50
Virginia	
Richmond—	
Congregation Beth Ahabah—Collection	238.00
West Virginia	
Charleston	72.50
Wisconsin	
Madison	59.00
Milwaukee—	
Emanu-El Republic	10.00

N

AUDITOR'S REPORT

June 14, 1929.

Dr. Morris Newfield, Treasurer,
Central Conference of American Rabbis,
Birmingham, Ala.
Dear Sir:

We beg to hand you herewith report, setting forth the result of our examination of your accounts, for the Fiscal Year ended June 10, 1929.

The scope of our audit embraced the detail checking of all receipts and disbursements. We found all receipts correctly accounted for and all disbursements properly authenticated, and we satisfied ourselves as to the propriety of all disbursements.

We also checked and verified the various bank accounts.

We verified by personal application at the bank all of the bonds on deposit with the Birmingham Trust & Savings Company.

From the above examination we are convinced that the accounts of the Treasurer are correct, and that the statements handed you herewith are accurate statements of all financial transactions for the period covered by this report, and that the balances of the various funds shown in this report are correct.

Respectfully submitted,
J. H. LEHMAN AUDIT COMPANY,
By J. H. Lehman.

Exhibit "A"

SUMMARY OF ALL RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 10, 1929
TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

Cash Balances—June 11, 1928		
Steiner Bros. Bank—Commercial Account	$20,233.40	
Steiner Bros. Bank—Savings Account	3,492.15	$23,725.55
Receipts		
Relief Fund (Schedule 1)	$13,031.40	
General Fund (Schedule 2)	3,835.75	
Publication Fund (Schedule 3)	23,470.44	
Horace Wolf Social Justice Fund (Schedule 4)	100.00	

Lucien N. Littauer Fund...(Schedule 5)..		5,000.00	$45,437.59
Total Balance and Receipts			$69,163.14
Disbursements			
Relief Fund .....(Schedule 1)..	$ 6,052.55		
General Fund .....(Schedule 2)..	30,927.32		
Publication Fund .....(Schedule 3)..	9,886.98		
Horace Wolf Social Justice Fund .....(Schedule 4)..	—		
Lucien N. Littauer Fund...(Schedule 5)..	3,750.00		
Total Disbursements			$50,616.85
Cash Balances in Bank			$18,546.29
Detail of Balances			
Steiner Bros. Bank—Commercial Account..	$14,038.87		
Steiner Bros. Bank—Savings Account.....	4,507.42		
Total	$18,546.29		

RECONCILIATION OF BANK ACCOUNT

Balance as per Bank's Statement		$5,042.55
Less: Outstanding Checks		
No. 3528	$ .70	
4018	27.00	
4067	10.10	
5095	25.00	
5119	25.00	
5141	25.00	
5163	25.00	
5165	40.00	
5171	25.00	
5175	1.00	
5180	58.63	
5181	35.00	
5182	77.55	
6183	70.00	
5184	65.40	
5185	24.75	
Total Outstanding Checks		$ 535.13
Balance as per Books		$4,507.42

Exhibit "B"

SUMMARY OF FUNDS—FISC

	Relief	General	Publicati
Balance in Fund—June 11, 1928	$111,820.31	$65,851.35	
Receipts, June 11, 1928, to June 10, 1929 (Exhibit "A" Schedules 1-2-3-4-5)	13,031.40	3,835.75	23,47
Total Balances and Receipts	$124,851.71	$69,687.10	$23,47
Disbursements, June 11, 1928, to June 10, 1929 (Exhibit "A" Schedules 1-2-3-4-5)	$ 6,052.55	$30,927.32	$ 9,88
Balance	$118,799.16	$38.759.78	$13.583
Add: Increase in Securities		17,000.00	
Transfer of Funds (Expense in 1928 reinstated in Fund)		546.11	
Transfer of Funds		13,583.46	13,583
Balance in Funds, June 10, 1929	$118,799.16	$68,797.13	

SUMMARY OF BALANCES

Relief Fund	$118,799
General Fund	68,797
Horace Wolf Social Justice Fund	1,200
Lucien N. Littauer Fund	1,250
Total Funds	$190,046

EAR ENDED JUNE 10, 1929

Horace Wolf Social Justice	Lucien N. Littauer	Total	In Cash	Bonds
553.89	———	$178,225.55	$ 23,725.55	$154,500.00
100.00	5,000.00	45,437.59	45,437.59	———
653.89	5,000.00	223,663.14	69,163.14	154,500.00
———	3,750.00	50,616.85	50,616.85	———
653.89	$ 1,250.00	$173,046.29	$ 18,546.29	$154,500.00
		17,000.00		17.000.00
546.11				
1,200.00	$ 1,250.00	$190,046.29	$ 18,546.29	$171,500.00

Number	*Issued by*	*R*
1	City of Mobile, Alabama	5
3	Village of Garfield Heights, Ohio	6
5	City of Detroit, Mich.	4
1	City of Elyton, Alabama	5
2	Town of Avondale, Alabama	5
5	County of Mobile, Alabama	4
2	City of Fairfield, Alabama	5
9	City of Fairfield, Alabama	5
5	City of New Orleans, La.	4
5	City of Memphis, Tenn.	5
5	City of Philadelphia, Pa.	4
5	City of Montgomery, Alabama	5
5	County of Jefferson, Alabama	4
2	Rocky River Village, Ohio	5
3	County of Jefferson, Alabama	5
3	Cleveland Heights Village, Ohio	6
5	City of St. Louis, Mo.	4
5	City of New Orleans, La.	4
5	City of Cleveland, Ohio	4
5	City of San Francisco and County, Calif.	5
5	Greenfield Village, Ohio	5
5	Greenfield Village, Ohio	5
5	City of Cleveland, Ohio	5
2	County of Mobile, Alabama	5
5	City of Los Angeles, Calif.	4½
5	City of Woonsocket	4½
2	Town of North Birmingham, Alabama	5
5	City of Montgomery, Alabama	5
2	City of New York, N. Y.	4½
8	City of New York, N. Y.	4½
5	State of Alabama	4
4	State of Louisiana	5
5	State of Oregon	4½
10	State of Alabama (Registered)	4½
1	State of Oregon (Registered Gold Bds.)	4½
5	State of Missouri	4½
5	The Barbizon—New York, N. Y.	6
1	The Barbizon—New York, N. Y.	6
10	Union Mortgage Company	6
5	The Berkshire	6
2	Hotel Drake	6

Interest Due	*Maturity*	*Amount*	*Total*
ne and December	June 1, 1933	$1,000.00	$ 1,000.00
ne and December	December 1, 1931-1934	1,000.00	3,000.00
ne and December	June 1, 1949	1,000.00	5,000.00
ne and December	June 1, 1938	500.00	500.00
ne and December	June 1, 1936	500.00	1,000.00
ne and December	June 1, 1950	1,000.00	5,000.00
ne and December	December 15, 1933-1936	500.00	1,000.00
ne and December	December 15, 1933-1935	1,000.00	9,000.00
nuary and July	January 1, 1950	1,000.00	5,000.00
nuary and July	July 1, 1949	1,000.00	5,000.00
nuary and July	December 1, 1945-1975	1,000.00	5,000.00
nuary and July	January 1, 1938	1,000.00	5,000.00
pril and October	April 1, 1955-1958	1,000.00	5,000.00
pril and October	October 1, 1948-1949	500.00	1,000.00
pril and October	April 1, 1940	1,000.00	3,000.00
pril and October	October 1, 1956	1,000.00	3,000.00
pril and October	October 1, 1942	1,000.00	5,000.00
pril and October	October 1, 1968	1,000.0	5,000.00
arch and September	September 1, 1948	1,000.00	5,000.00
arch and September	March 1, 1956	1,000.00	5,000.00
arch and September	September 1, 1939	1,000.00	5,000.00
arch and September	September 1, 1942	1,000.00	5,000.00
ebruary and August	February 1, 1961	1,000.00	5,000.00
ebruary and August	February 1, 1934	500.00	1,000.00
ay and November	November 1, 1938	1,000.00	5,000.00
ay and November	May 1, 1944	1,000.00	5,000.00
ay and November	November 1, 1937	500.00	1,000.00
ay and November	May 1, 1948	1,000.00	5,000.00
ay and November	November 1, 1957	1,000.00	2,000.00
ay and November	November 1, 1957	1,000.00	8,000.00
anuary and December	December 1, 1949	1,000.00	5,000.00
anuary and December	December 1, 1948	500.00	2,000.00
anuary and December	June 1, 1951	1,000.00	5,000.00
anuary and December	December 1, 1959	1,000.00	10,000.00
pril and October	April 1, 1944	5,000.00	5,000.00
arch and September	March 1, 1940	1,000.00	5,000.00
pril and October	October 1, 1939	1,000.00	5,000.00
pril and October	October 1, 1939	500.00	500.00
anuary and July	January 1, 1937	1,000.00	10,000.00
anuary and July	January 1, 1941	500.00	2,500.00
ay and November	May 1, 1939	1,000.00	2,000.00
			$171,500.00

SUMMARY OF FUNDS—FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 10, 1929

DETAIL OF BONDS

Accounting of Funds		
Bonds—see List Exhibit "B"	$171,500.00	
Cash in Steiner Bros. Bank—Savings Account	14,038.87	
Cash in Steiner Bros. Bank—Commercial Account	4,507.42	
Total Funds—see Exhibit "B"		$190,046.29

Exhibit "A'
Schedule 1

RELIEF FUND

For the Fiscal Year Ended June 10, 1929

Balance to the Credit of this Fund—June 11, 1928		$111,820.31
Receipts		
Committee on Solicitation of Funds	$3,243.91	
½ of Dues	795.00	
Interest on Commercial and Savings Bank Accounts	699.98	
Interest on Bonds	8,292.50	
Total Receipts—to Exhibit "A"		$ 13.031.40
Total Balance and Receipts		$124,851.71
Disbursements		
Expense—Solicitation of Funds	$ 292.55	
Pensions Paid	5,760.00	
Total Disbursements—to Exhibit "A"		6,052.55
Balance in Fund—June 10, 1929—to Exhibit "B"		$118,799.16

GENERAL FUND

For the Fiscal Year Ended June 10, 1929

Exhibit "A"
Schedule 2

Balance to the Credit of this Fund—June 11, 1928		$65,851.35
Receipts		
One half Dues	$ 795.00	
Sale of City of Birmingham Bonds	3,000.00	

Refund of Expenses	40.75	
Transfer from Publication Fund—See Exhibit "A" Schedule 3	13,583.46	$117,419.21
Total Balance and Receipts		$83,270.56

Disbursements

President's Office Expense		
Stationery, Printing, and Postage	$ 8.00	
Stenographer	300.00	$ 308.00
Recording Secretary's Office Expense		
Stationery, Printing, and Postage	169.36	
Stenographer	100.00	$ 269.36
Corresponding Secretary's Office Expense		
Stationery, Printing, and Postage	$ 61.93	
Stenographer	50.00	$ 111.93
Treasurer's Office Expense		
Stationery, Printing, and Postage	$ 6.80	
Stenographer	85.00	$ 91.80
Other Disbursements		
Treasurer's Bond	$ 25.00	
Audit of Treasurer's Books	50.00	
Legal Expense in connection with Group Insurance	150.00	
Trustee Fees (Birmingham Trust & Savings Company	83.00	
Year Book	3,556.06	
Executive Board Meeting	636.98	
Chicago Convention	1,028.51	
General Printing and Reprint Expense	254.24	
Membership Dues	15.00	
International Peace, Goodwill, etc.	35.25	
Committee on Church and State	50.10	
Committee on Source Book of Reform	77.50	
Miscellaneous	$ 22.54	$5,984.18
		$6,765.27

Miscellaneous		
M. Guttman	$500.00	
Pro Falasha	250.00	
Rabbi I. Nissenbaum, Warsaw	150.00	
American School for Oriental Research	50.00	
Acadamie Wissenchaft	100.00	
Eugene Mittwoch	100	
Shavile-Ha-Hinuch	50.00	
Synagog Council of America	100.00	
Dr. B. Levin, Palestine	250.00	
Social Justice Commission	591.83	
Committee on Synagog Music	294.15	
Matzoth for Russia	250.00	
Marranos Congregation, Braganca, Portugal	250.00	
Carl Gebhardt	50.00	
Mekitze Nirdamim	200.00	$3,185.98
Interest and Premiums on Bonds Purchased		976.07
Total Disbursements except Investments		$10,927.32
Investments		
Jefferson County, Alabama, Bonds 4¾%	$ 5,000.00	
Mobile County, Alabama, Bonds 4½%	5,000.00	
City of New York 4½%	10,000.00	
Total Investments		$20,000.00
Total Disbursements—to Exhibit "B"		30,927.32
Transferred to Horace Wolf Social Justice Fund		546.11
		$31,473.43
		$51,473.43
Add: Increase in Bonds and Investments		$17,000.00
Balance in Fund—June 10, 1929—to Exhibit "B"		$68,797.13

Exhibit "A"
Schedule 3

PUBLICATION FUND

For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 10, 1929

Balance to the Credit of this Fund—June 11, 1928	$16,115.59

Transferred to General Fund	16,115.59
Receipts—during Year—to Exhibit "A"	$23,470.44
Disbursements—during Year—to Exhibit "A"	9,886.98
Balance	$13,583.46
Transferred to General Fund—to Exhibit "A" Schedule 2	$13,583.46

Exhibit "A"
Schedule 4

HORACE WOLF SOCIAL JUSTICE FUND
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 10, 1929

Balance to the Credit of this Fund—June 11, 1928		$ 553.89
Receipts		
Donation	$100.00	
Expenses of Previous Year re-instated	546.11	$ 646.11
Balance in Fund—to Exhibit "B"		$1,200.00

Exhibit "A"
Schedule 5

LUCIEN N. LITTAUER FUND
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 10, 1929

Receipts		
Donation		$5,000.00
Disbursements		
Marranos Congregation, Braganca, Portugal	$ 500.00	
Jacobson Temple at Seesen am Harz, Germany	1,000.00	
Dr. B. Levin, Palestine	750.00	
Mekitze Nirdamim Society	500.00	
Professor Abraham Kahana	1,000.00	
Total Disbursemtnts—to Exhibit "A"		$3,750.00
Balance in Fund—June 10, 1929—to Exhibit "B"		$1,250.00

Isaac Mayer Wise

Founder

of the

Central Conference of American Rabbis

and

First President

1889-1900

DECEASED MEMBERS

Aaron, Israel, Buffalo, N. Y. 1912
Adler, Samuel, New York City 1891
Adler, Liebman, Chicago, Ill. 1892
Anspacher, Abraham S., Hazleton, Pa. 1927

Bauer, Solomon H., Chicago, Ill. 1913
Benjamin, Raphael, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1907
Berkowitz, Henry, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923
Bernstein, Louis, Baltimore Md. 1922
Bien, Henry M., Vicksburg, Miss. 1895
Birkenthal, Herman, Hamilton, Ont. 1893
Blaustein, David, New York City 1912
Blau, Joel, London, England 1927
Blum, Abraham, New York City 1921
Bloch, Jacob, Portland, Ore. 1916
Bogen, Joseph, Jackson, Tenn. 1919
Bonnheim, Benjamin A., Cincinnati, O. 1909

Cantor, Bernard, New York City 1920
Caro, Victor, Milwaukee, Wis. 1912
Chumaceiro, H. J. M., Curacao, D. W. I. 1905
Cohen, Oscar J., Mobile, Ala. 1901

Deutsch, Gotthard, Cincinnati, O. 1921
Deinard, Samuel M., Minneapolis, Miss. 1921

Elkin, Meyer, Hartford, Conn. 1915
Ellinger, Emil, San Diego, Cal. 1928

Feldman, Ephraim, Cincinnati, O. 1910
Felsenthal, Bernard, Chicago, Ill. 1908
Feuerlicht, David, Owensboro, Ky. 1897
Feuerlicht, Jacob, Chicago, Ill. 1920
Fischer, E. K., Chattanooga, Tenn. 1903
Frank, Julius, Reading, Pa. 1929
Frankel, Benjamin, Champaign, Ill. 1927
Friedlander, Joseph, Plainfield, N. J. 1917

Gerechter, Emanuel, Appleton, Wis. 1926
Gottheil, Gustav, New York City 1903

GRIES, MOSES J., Cleveland, O. 1918
GROSSMAN, IGNATZ, Chicago, Ill. 1897
GROSSMAN, LOUIS, Cincinnati, O. 1926
GROSSMAN, RUDOLPH, New York City 1927
GUTTMAN, ADOLPH, Syracuse, N. Y. 1927
GUTTMACHER, ADOLF, Baltimore, Md. 1915

HARRISON, LEON, St. Louis, Mo. 1928
HECHT, SIGMUND, Los Angeles, Cal. 1925
HELLER, MAXMILLIAN, New Orleans, La. 1929
HERZ, JOSEPH, Columbus, Miss. 1909
HESS, EMANUEL L., St. Paul, Minn. 1907
HIRSCH, EMIL G., Chicago, Ill. 1923

ISAACS, ABRAM S., Paterson, N. J. 1920

JACOBSON, JACOB S., Chicago, Ill. 1911
JESSELSON, FELIX W., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1920
JOSEPH, ISRAEL, Montgomery, Ala. 1897

KAISER, ALOIS, Baltimore, Md. 1908
KAPLAN, SAMUEL S., East Orange, N. J. 1929
KLEIN, DAVID, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1926
KOHLER, KAUFMANN, New York City 1926
KRAUSKOPF, JOSEPH, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923

LANDAU, JACOB H., Las Vegas, N. M. 1919
LANDSBERG, MAX, Rochester, N. Y. 1928
LAZARUS, ABRAHAM, Houston, Tex. 1900
LEUCHT, ISAAC L., New Orleans, La. 1914
LEUCHT, JOSEPH, Newark, N. J. 1920
LEVY, ABRAHAM R., Chicago, Ill. 1915
LEVY, JOSEPH LEONARD, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1917
LEVY, M. S., San Francisco, Cal. 1916
LEWINTHAL, ISIDORE, Nashville, Tenn. 1922
LOWENBERG, WILLIAM, Philadelphia, Pa. 1929
LOWENSTEIN, AARON, Chicago, Ill. 1901

MACHOL, MICHAEL, Cleveland, O. 1912
MANNHEIMER, SIGMUND, Cincinnati, O. 1909
MAYER, ELI, Albany, N. Y. 1920
MAYER, LIPPMAN, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1904
MAYERBERG, JULIUS, Goldsboro, N. C. 1928
MENDELSOHN, SAMUEL, Wilmington, N. C. 1923
MENDES, F. DESOLA, New York City 1927
MESSING, AARON J., Chicago, Ill. 1916

MESSING, HENRY J., St. Louis, Mo. 1913
MEYER, MARTIN A., San Francisco, Cal. 1923
MIELZINER, MOSES, Cincinnati, O. 1903
MISCHKIND, LOUIS A., Wilmington, Del. 1929
MOSES, ADOLPH, Louisville, Ky. 1902
MOSES, ISAAC S., New York City 1926

NEUMARK, DAVID, Cincinnati, O. 1924
NEWMAN, JULIUS, Chicago, Ill. 1920
NOOT, MEYER, Williamsport, Pa. 1916
NORDEN, AARON, Chicago, Ill. 1905

PEISER, SIMON, Cleveland, O. 1925

RADIN, ADOLPH M., New York City 1909

SADLER, BERNARD, Easton, Pa. 1917
SAMFIELD, MAX, Memphis, Tenn. 1915
SAMUEL, HERBERT J., Montreal, Canada 1926
SCHWAB, ISAAC, St. Louis, Mo. 1907
SCHLESINGER, MAX, Albany, N. Y. 1919
SESSLER, MORRIS, New Orleans, La. 1926
SOLOMON, M., Appleton, Wis. 1892
SOLOMON, M. G., Los Angeles, Cal. 1927
SONNENSCHIEN, SOLOMON, St. Louis, Mo. 1908
SPITZ, MORITZ, St. Louis, Mo. 1921
STEMPLE, I., Yonkers, N. Y. 1900
STERN, LOUIS, Washington, D. C. 1919
STRAUSS, LEON, Belleville, Ill. 1895
SZOLD, BENJAMIN, Baltimore, Md. 1902

VOORSANGER, JACOB, San Francisco, Cal. 1908

WECHSLER, JUDAH, Indianapolis, Ind. 1907
WEISS, L., Bradford, Pa. 1909
WINTNER, LEOPOLD, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1923
WISE, ISAAC M., Cincinnati, O. 1900
WOLFENSTEIN, SAMUEL, Cleveland, O. 1921

YOUNGERMAN, MORRIS H., Charleston, W. Va. 1924

ZIRNDORF, HEINRICH, Cincinnati, O. 1921

PAST PRESIDENTS

Isaac M. Wise.....1889-1900

Joseph Silverman 1900-1903

Joseph Krauskopf 1903-1905

Joseph Stolz 1905-1907

David Philipson 1907-1909

Maximillian Heller 1909-1911

Samuel Schulman 1911-1913

Moses J. Gries.....1913-1915

William Rosenau 1915-1917

Louis Grossman 1917-1919

Leo M. Franklin.....1919-1921

Edward N. Calisch.....1921-1923

Abram Simon 1923-1925

Louis Wolsey 1925-1927

Hyman G. Enelow.....1927-1929

David Lefkowitz 1929-

CONVENTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

1889.....Detroit, Mich.
1890.....Cleveland, O.
1891.....Baltimore, Md.
1892.....New York, N. Y.
1892.....Washington, D. C.
1893.....Chicago, Ill.
1894.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1895.....Rochester, N. Y.
1896.....Milwaukee, Wis.
1897.....Montreal, Canada
1898.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1899.....Cincinnati, O.
1900.....Buffalo, N. Y.
1901.....Philadelphia, Pa.
1902.....New Orleans, La.
1903.....Detroit, Mich.
1904..... Louisville, Ky.
1905..... Cleveland, O.
1906..... Indianapolis, Ind.
1907-1908.....Frankfort, Mich.
1909.....New York, N. Y.
1910.....Charlevoix, Mich.
1911..St. Paul-Minneapolis, Minn.
1912.....Baltimore, Md.
1913.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1914.....Detroit, Mich.
1915.....Charlevoix, Mich.
1916.....Wildwood, N. J.
1917.....Buffalo, N. Y.
1918.....Chicago, Ill.
1919.....Cincinnati, O.
1920.....Rochester, N. Y.
1921.....Washington, D. C.
1922-1923.....Cape May, N. J.
1924.....Cedar Point, O.
1925.....Cincinnati, O.
1926.....Asheville, N. C.
1927 (Special).....Cleveland, O.
1927.....Cape May, N. J.
1928.....Chicago, Ill.
1929.....Detroit, Mich.

Atlantic City, N.J., 1894, 1898, 1913

Baltimore, Md.....1891, 1912

Buffalo, N. Y.....1900, 1917

Cape May, N. J., 1922, 1923, 1927

Cedar Point, O.....1924

Charlevoix, Mich.....1910, 1915

Chicago, Ill.....1893, 1918, 1928

Cincinnati, O....1899, 1919, 1925

Cleveland, O....1890, 1905, 1927

Detroit, Mich. 1889, 1903, 1914, 1929

Frankfort, Mich.....1907, 1908

Indianapolis, Ind.....1906

Louisville, Ky.....1904

Milwaukee, Wis. 1896

Minneapolis-St. Paul 1911

Montreal, Canada.....1897

New Orleans, La.....1902

New York, N. Y.....1892, 1909

Philadelphia, Pa.....1901

Rochester, N. Y.....1895, 1920

St. Paul-Minneapolis 1911

Washington, D. C.....1892, 1921

Wildwood, N. J.....1916

LIST OF MEMBERS

HONORARY MEMBER

Montefiore, Claude G., M. A., D.Litt., D. D., 42 Portman Sq., W. 1, London, England.

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Aaronsohn, Michael, A. B., Rabbi, Field Representative, U. A. H. C., 318 Forest Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Abels, Moses J. S., M. A., Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El of Boro Park, 14th Ave. and 49th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Abelson, Alter, Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, P. O. Box 234, Newport, Rhode Island.

Abrams, Samuel Joshua, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Ohabei Shalom, 12 Fuller St., Brookline, Mass.

Ackerman, William, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 1112 24th Ave., Meridian, Miss.

Alexander, David, A. B., Rabbi, Akron Hebrew Congregation, 944 Amelia Ave., Akron, O.

Andermann, Zwi, Ph. D., Rabbi 2924 LaFayette Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Bronx, N. Y.

August, Garry J., Rabbi, Temple Israel, Gary Ind.

Bamberger, Bernard J., A. B., D. D., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Emeth, 206 State Street, Albany, N. Y.

Barasch, Nathan E., Rabbi, Augusta, Ga.

Barnston, Henry, Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 1919 Richmond Ave., Houston, Texas.

Baron, Joseph Louis, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Emanu-El-B'ne Jeshurun, 501 Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.

Baron, Samuel Halevi, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, Uniontown, Pa.

Bazell, Solomon N., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'rith Sholom, 117 W. College St., Louisville, Ky.

Benedict, George, Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El, 17 Watkins St., Lynbrook, L. I., N. Y.

Bergman, Moise, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, 1705 Grand Ave., Pueblo, Col.

Berkowitz, Henry J., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 13th and Main Sts., Portland, Oregon.

Berman, Morton M., A. B., Rabbi, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 W. 68th St., New York City.

Bernstein, Philip S., A. B., Rabbi, Temple B'rith Kodesh, 177 Gibbs St., Rochester, N. Y.

Bettan, Israel, A. B., D. D., Rabbi, Professor, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

Binstock, Louis, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Sinai, 2107 Calhoun St., New Orleans, La.

Blachschleger, Eugene, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation, Beth Ahabah, 3122 Kensington Ave., Richmond, Va.

Blank, Sheldon H., M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Blatt, Joseph, A. B., Rabbi, Temple B'nai Israel, 901 W. 24th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Bloch, Joshua, M. A., Ph. D., P. O. Box 213, New Hyde Park, L. I., New York.

Bloom, Herbert I., Rabbi, 923 Forrester Ave., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Bloom, MauriceJ., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth Jacob, 176 Montgomery St., Newburgh, N. Y.

Bloom, I. Mortimer, A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Hebrew Tabernacle, 564 W. 160th St., New York City.

Bookstaber, Philip David, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Ohev Sholom, 208 N. 3rd St., Harrisburg, Pa.

Braun, Frederick, A. B., Rabbi.

Brav, Louis, A. B., Rabbi.

Brickner, Barnet R., M. A., B. S., M. Ed., Rabbi, Euclid Ave. Temple, 8206 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, O.

Brill, Abram, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Zion, 2120 Highland Ave., Shreveport, La.

Bronstein, David, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Am Ehod, 8142 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Buttenwieser, Moses, Ph. D., Professor, Hebrew Union College, 252 Loraine Ave., Clifton, Cincinnati, O.

Calisch, Edward N., B. L., M. A., Ph. D., D. H. L., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Ahabah, 3104 Monument Ave., Richmond, Va.

Caplan, Harry, A. B., Rabbi, Keneseth Israel, 1611½ Turner St., Allentown, Pa.

Coffee, Rudolph Isaac, A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Sinai, 28th and Webster Sts., Oakland, Cal.

Cohen, Henry, D. H. L., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Israel, 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Tex.

Cohen, Jacob X., B. S., C. E., Rabbi, Free Synagog, 40 W. 68th St., New York City.

Cohen, Mnotague N. A., A. B., Rabbi, P. O. Box 293 San Jose, Calif.

Cohen, Simon, A. B., D. D., Rabbi, 1 E. 65th St., New York City.

Cohen, Simon R., M. A., Rabbi, Union Temple of Brooklyn, 75 Prospect Park, West, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Cohn, Frederick, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 5105 Webster St., Omaha, Neb.
Cohon, Beryl D., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'er Chayim, 107 Union St., Cumberland, Md.
Cohon, Samuel S., A. B., Rabbi, Professor of Jewish Theology, Hebrew Union College, Rutland Apts., Clifton, Cincinnati, O.
Cronbach, Abraham, A. B., D. D., Rabbi, Professor of Social Studies, Hebrew Union College, 3431 Larona Ave., Cincinnati, O.
Currick, Max C., A. B., Rabbi, Reform Congregation Anshe Chesed, 523 W. 9th St., Erie, Pa.

Davidson, David, D. D., Rabbi, 609 W. 137th St., New York City.
Davis, Daniel L., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Shaarai Shomayim, 134 College Ave., Lancaster, Pa.
Dorfman, Bernard M., M. A., Rabbi, Temple Anshe Emeth, Hotel Pere Marquette, Peoria, Ill.

Egelson, Louis I., M. A., Rabbi, Assistant Director, Department of Synagog and School Extension, U. A. H. C., 2 Avon Apts., Avondale, Cincinnati, O.
Ehrenreich, Bernard C., Rabbi, 5480 Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Eisendrath, Maurice N., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Holy Blossom, 115 Bond St., Toronto, Canada.
Ellis, Milton, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, Greensboro, N. C.
Elzas, Barnett A., A. B., M. D., LL. D., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Miriam, Long Branch, N. J., 42 W. 72nd St., New York City.
Enelow, Hyman G., D. D., D. H. L., Rabbi, Congregation Emanu-El, 1 E. 65th St., New York City.
Englander, Henry, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Professor, Hebrew Union College, 904 Lexington Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, O.
Eppstein, Victor, United Hebrew Congregation, Avenue Wilson Esq. H., Havana, Cuba.
Ettelson, Harry W., A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Children of Israel, Poplar and Montgomery Ave., Memphis, Tenn.

Faber, Maurice, Rabbi, Congregation Beth El, 312 S. College Ave., Tyler, Texas.
Falk, Gustave F., A. B., Rabbi, Regional Rabbi of Southeast, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Feibelman, Julian B., M. A., Rabbi, Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel, 1717 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Feinberg, Abraham L., Rabbi, Temple Israel of the City of N. Y., 210 W. 91st St., New York City.

Feinstein, Abraham, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Ohev Sholom, 1028 8th St., Huntington, W. Va.

Feldman, Abraham Jehiel, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 145 Ballard Drive, Hartford, Conn.

Feldman, Arthur A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Anshe Sholom, 325 James St., S., Hamilton, Ont., Canada.

Feuer, Leon I., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Tifereth Israel, E. 105th St., at Ansel Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

Feuerlicht, Morris M., A. B., Rabbi, Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation, 3034 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind.

Fichman, David, A. B., Rabbi, 1205 St. Charles Ave., New Orleans, La.

Fineberg, Howard L., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth El, Steubenville, O.

Fineberg, Solomon Andhil, A. B., Rabbi, Sinai Temple, 669 N. Terrace Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Fineshriber, William H., A. B., D. D., Rabbi, Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel, 1717 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Finesinger, Sol B., M. A., Ph. D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Fink, Joseph L., M. A., Rabbi, Temple Beth Zion, 599 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

Fisher, Henry M., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 205 Seaside Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.

Fisher, Mitchell Salem, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Rodef Shalom of New York City, 175 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Foster, Solomon, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N. J.

Fox, Gresham George, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, South Shore Temple, 7215 Jeffrey Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Fram, Leon, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Beth El, 8801 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Franklin, Harvey B., M. A. Ph. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 344 Santa Fe Ave., Long Beach, Cal.

Franklin, Leo M., B. L., LL. D., Rabbi, Temple Beth El, Woodward Ave. at Gladstone, Detroit, Mich.

Freed, Abraham, Rabbi, Tucson, Ariz.

Freedman, Joseph, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, High and Waverly Aves., Newark, N. J.

Freehof, Solomon B., D. D., Rabbi, Congregation Kehillath Anshe Maarov, Hotel Aragón, 5401 Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Freidless, N. Leon, A. B., Rabbi, 3230 Palmer St., Chicago, Ill.

Freund, Charles J., B. L., Rabbi, 2270 Glenwood Ave., Toledo, O.

Freund, Hirsch L., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Sinai, 226 N. Washington St., Sumter, S. C.

Freund, Iser, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Oheb Sholom, 702 Hotel Goldsboro, Goldsboro, N. C.

Frey, Sigmund, Rabbi, 419 S. Westminster, Los Angeles, Cal.

Fried, Michael, Rabbi, Temple Shalom, 295 14th Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

Friedlander, Marcus, Rabbi Emeritus, Congregation B'nai Sholaum, 57 Prospect Park, S. W., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Friedman, Benjamin, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Society of Concord, 501 University Ave. and Madison St., Syracuse, N. Y.

Friedman, William S., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, 733 E. 8th Ave., Denver, Col.

Friedman, Martin, Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Beth-El, 1105 N. Reus, Pensacola, Florida.

Frisch, Ephraim, A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Beth El, 130 Luther Drive, San Antonio, Texas.

Glazer, B. Benedict, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Rodef Shalom, 4905 5th Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Glueck, Nelson, A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Goldberg, David, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Israel, 160 Spring St., Brockton, Mass.

Goldberg, Joshua L., Rabbi, Astoria Center of Israel, 820 Crescent St., Astoria, L. I., N. Y.

Goldburg, Norman M., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Israel, 817 25th St., Sacramento, Cal.

Goldburg, A. L., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Israel, 1113 Virginia St., Charleston, W. Va.

Goldenson, Samuel H., M. A., Ph. D., D. H. L., Rabbi, Congregation Rodef Shalom, 4905 5th Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Goldenstein, Raphael, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth-El, Lynn, Mass., Sherin House, Swampscott, Mass.

Goldstein, Morris, M. A., Rabbi, Liberal Jewish Congregation of Liverpool, Royal Institution, Colquitt St., Liverpool, England.

Goldstein, Sidney E., B. A., Rabbi, Free Synagog, 40 W. 68th St., New York City.

Goodis, David, B. S., Rabbi, Great Neck, L. I., N. Y.

Gordon, Julius, Rabbi, Congregation Shaare Emeth, St. Louis, Mo.

Gordon, Samuel H., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Israel, 411 E. S. Temple St., Salt Lake City, Utah.

Gorfinkle, Joseph I., Rabbi, Sinai Temple, 319 N. Fulton Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Grafman, Louis Elliot, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Schaarai Zedek, 4528 Rosemere Rd., Tampa, Fla.
Greenburg, William Henry, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, 600 Riverside Drive, New York City.
Greenwald, Milton, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth El, 18 Maplehurst Park, Knoxville, Tenn.
Gross, Louis D., Rabbi, Union Temple of Brooklyn, 570 Pacific St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Gup, Samuel M., M. A., Rabbi, Temple Beth-El, 265 President Ave., Providence, R. I.

Haas, Louis Jacob, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Kesher Israel, 605 N. 5th St., Reading, Pa.
Halevi, Jacob, B. A., Rabbi, Congregation Adath Israel, Cleveland, Mississippi.
Harburg, Israel, B. A., Rabbi, Temple Beth El, 76 Broad St., Lynn, Mass.
Harris, Maurice H., M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Israel of City of New York, 418 Central Park West, New York City.
Harris, Melbourne, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Emanu-El, Arguello Blvd. and Lake St., San Francisco, Calif.
Harris, Samuel J., A. B., Rabbi, 1204 E. Harvard Blvd., Dayton, O.
Hausmann, Gustav N., Rabbi, Community Synagog, 25 W. 120th St., New York City.
Heinberg, Israel, Rabbi, P. O. Box 144, Monroe, La.
Heller, Bernard, M. A., Rabbi, Madison Ave. Temple, Scranton, Pa.
Heller, James G., M. A., Rabbi, Plum St. Temple, Isaac M. Wise Center, Cincinnati, O.
Herman, Carl N., 1606 Glenwood Ave., Raleigh, N. C.
Hibshman, Eugene E., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 3004 Union Ave., Altoona, Pa.
Hirshberg, Abram, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Sholom, 2634 Lakeview Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Hirshberg, Maurice A., B. S., Rabbi, Congregation Anshe Emeth, 190 Rutgers St., Brunswick, N. J.
Hirshberg, Samuel, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El-B'ne Jeshurun, 546 Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.
Hoffseyer, Benjamin, M. H. L., Rabbi, Anshei Geulah, 209 Ave., F, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Holtzberg, Abraham, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Har Sinai, 908 Berkley Ave., Trenton, N. J.
Hurwitz, Samuel Dodkin, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, Jewish Community Office, Davenport, Iowa.

Idelsohn, Abraham Zevi, Professor, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Iola, Hyman A., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 1324 S. Cheyenne St., Tulsa, Okla.
Isaacson, Isador, Rabbi, Temple Israel of Hollywood, 1904 N. Argyle St., Hollywood, Cal.
Israel, Edward L., A. B., Rabbi, Har Sinai Temple, Bolton and Wilson Sts., Baltimore, Md.
Isserman, Ferdinand M., M. A., Rabbi, Temple Israel, Kingshighway and Washington St., St. Louis, Mo.

Jacobs, Pizer W., A. B., Rabbi Congregation Mishkan Israel, 37 Linden St., New Haven, Conn.
Jacobson, Moses P., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Ha-Tephillah, 100 Edwin Place, Asheville, N. C.
Jaffa, Philip W., A. B., Rabbi, Regional Rabbi, U. A. H. C., 3152 East Derbyshire Rd., Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Jasin, Joseph, A. B., Rabbi, Box 76, Pasadena, Cal.
Joseph, Theodore F., A. B., Rabbi, c/o Uhlfelder, 148 W. 23rd St., New York City.

Kagan, Henry Enoch, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth Zion, Johnstown, Pa.
Kahn, Lawrence Earl Broh, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Adath Israel, N. Ashland Ave. Temple, Lexington, Ky.
Kaplan, Bernard Michael, M. A., Rabbi, 644 W. 204th St., New York City.
Kaplan, Harry, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Anshe Amonim, 36 Brenton Terrace, Pittsfield, Mass.
Kaplan, Israel L., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Ahavath Chesed, Laura and Ashley Sts., Jacksonville, Fla.
Kaplan, Jacob H., A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 137 N. E. 19th St., Miami, Fla.
Kaufman, Max, Rabbi.
Kelson, Benjamin, A. B., Rabbi, Temple of Israel, 314 Grace St., Wilmington, N. C.
Kerman, Julius, B. S., Rabbi, Congregation Beth El, 249 Arch St., Sunbury, Pa.
Klein, Israel, A. B., Rabbi, 833 Market St., Zanesville, Ohio.
Klein, Jacob, L. L. D., Rabbi, Congregation West Side B'nai Israel, 1925 W. 71st St., Cleveland, O.
Koch, Samuel, M. A., Rabbi, Temple de Hirsch, 916 20th Ave. N. Seattle, Wash.

Kohut, George Alexander, 1 W. 70th St., New York City.

Kopald, Louis J., M. A., Rabbi, North Shore Congregation Israel, Lincoln and Vernon Aves., Glencoe, Ill.

Kornfeld, Joseph S., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Shomer Emunim, 2823 Collingwood Ave., Toledo, Ohio.

Kory, Sol L., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Anshe Chesed, P. O. Box 356, Vicksburg, Miss.

Krass, Nathan, Rabbi, Congregation Emanu El, 2370 Broadway, New York City.

Krohngold, Jacob B., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, Lohr Hotel, Lafayette, Ind.

Kronman, Harry L., Rabbi, 600 W. 162nd St., New York City.

Kuppin, Louis, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth-El, 916 Hohman St., Hammond, Ind.

Landau, Edmund A., Rabbi, Temple B'nai Israel, 511 Commerce St., Albany, Ga.

Landman, Isaac, A. B., Rabbi, 71 West 47th St., New York City.

Landman, Solomon, A. B., Rabbi, B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation, 508 State St., Madison, Wis.

Lasker, Max., A. B., Graduate Scholarship, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Latz, Charles B., M. A., Rabbi, Canton Hebrew Congregation, 13 McCurdy Block, Canton, Ohio.

Lauterbach, Jacob Z., Ph. D., Rabbi, Professor Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

Lazaron, Morris S., M. A., Rabbi, Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, 1914 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md.

Lefkowitz, David, B. S., B. L., Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El, 2415 South Boulevard, Dallas, Tex.

Leibert, Julius A., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 206 Euclid Ave., Long Beach, Cal.

Leipziger, Emil William, A. B., Rabbi, Touro Synagog, 7624 St. Charles Ave., New Orleans, La.

Leiser, Joseph, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth El, 714 Liberty St., Helena, Ark.

Levey, Irving M., B. S., Rabbi, Temple Beth Sholom, Copper Court Apt., No. 106, Topeka, Kan.

Levi, Charles S., A. B., Rabbi, Cincinnati Club, 8th and Race St., Cincinnati, O.

Levi, Gerson B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Isaiah-Israel, 919 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Levi, Harry, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, Boston, Mass., 84 Salisbury Rd., Brookline, Mass.

Levin, Jacob K., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, P. O. Box 1288, San Diego, Cal.

Levinger, Lee J., M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation, Ohio State University, 96 E. 18th Ave., Columbus, O.

Levinson, Samuel J., M. A., Rabbi, Temple Beth Emeth of Flatbush, 83 Marlborough Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Levy, Clifton Harby, A. B., Rabbi, Center of Jewish Science, 180 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Levy, David, Rabbi, Bridgeport, Conn.

Levy, Felix A., A. B., Ph. D., Congregation Emanuel, 445 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill.

Lewis, Harry Samuel, M. A., Rabbi, Chaplain Manhattan City Prisons, Instructor Jewish Institute of Religion, 616 W. 184th St., New York City.

Lewis, Theodore, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Mt. Sinai, 1801 Douglas St., Sioux City, Iowa.

Lichtenstein, Morris, M. A., Rabbi, Jewish Science Movement, 100 W. 72nd St., New York City.

Linfield, Harry S., A. B., Rabbi, Director of Statistical Dept. American Jewish Committee, 171 Madison Ave., New York City.

Lissman, Edward, Rabbi, Riverside Synagog, 310 W. 103rd St., New York City.

Lippman, Mayer, Rabbi, Congregation Beth El, 2114 Kedzie Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Lovitt, Meyer, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, Jackson, Miss.

Lowenstein, Solomon, A. B., D. H. L., Rabbi, Executive Director, Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, 71 W. 47th St., New York City.

Luchs, Alvin S., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, Webster Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.

Lyons, Alexander, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Elohim, 225 Lincoln Pl., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Macht, Wolfe, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Rodef Sholom, Waco, Tex.

Magnes, Judah Leon, Ph. D., Rabbi, P. O. Box 30, Jerusalem, Palestine.

Magnin, Edgar Fogel, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai B'rith, 636 S. Hobart Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.

Maller, Julius B., Educational Director U. A. H. C., Merchants Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mann, Jacob, M. A., Litt. D., Professor, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

Mann, Louis L., Ph. D., Rabbi, Chicago Sinai Congregation, 4600 Grand Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Mannheimer, Eugene, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, 427 W. 51st St., Des Moines, Ia.

Marcus, Jacob Rader, A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Associate Professor History, Hebrew Union College, 401 McAlpin Ave., Cincinnati, O.

Marcuson, Isaac E., B. L., Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, 204 Buford Place, Macon, Ga.

Margolis, Harry S., A. B., Rabbi, Mt. Zion Temple, Holly and Avon, St. Paul, Minn.

Mark, Jerome, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Mishkan Israel, 615 Young St., Selma, Ala.

Mark, Julius, A. B., Rabbi, Vine Street Temple, Nashville, Tenn.

Marks, Samuel, Rabbi, Temple Beth El, San Antonio, Texas.

Markowitz, Samuel H., M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Achduth Veshalom, 500 W. Wayne St., Ft. Wayne, Ind.

Martin, Albert L., B. S., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Israel, 12 Beechwood Ave., Bridgeport, Conn.

Marx, David, D. D., Rabbi, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, 1017 St. Charles Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Mattuck, Israel I., M. A., D. H. L., Rabbi, Liberal Jewish Synagog, 28 St. Johns Wood Rd., London, N. W. 3, England.

Mayer, Harry H., A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple B'nai Jehuda, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo.

Mayerberg, Samuel Spier, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Yehuda, Linwood and Flora, Kansas City, Mo.

Mazure, Maurice Maxwell, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Beth El, Stamford, Conn.

Mendelsohn, Samuel Felix, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, 4845 Drake Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Mendoza, Louis D., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Oheb Sholom, 1214 Stockley Gardens, Norfolk, Va.

Menkes, J. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, New Castle, Pa.

Merfeld, Harry A., M. A., B. T. H., Congregation Beth El, Galveston and Broadway, Fort Worth, Tex.

Merritt, Max J., A. B., Rabbi, B'nai B'rith, Hillel Foundation, Berkeley, Cal.

Messing, Mayer, Rabbi Emeritus, Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation, 3258 N. New Jersey St., Indianapolis, Ind.

Meyer, Jacob I., M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 88 N. Church St., Hazelton, Pa.

Meyer, Julius H., A. B., Rabbi, 231 S. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Meyer, Max, B. S., Rabbi, Free Synagog, 2 Neff Place, Flushing, L. I., N. Y.

Meyer, Myron M., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Adath Joseph, 2011 Jule St., St. Joseph, Mo.
Miller, Julian H., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai El, Embassy Apts., Union and Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Minda, Albert G., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 1919 Dupont Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Montaz, Arthur Sigismund, Ph. B., Rabbi, Mt. Sinai Temple, 307 W. 8th St., Texarkana, Texas.
Morgenstern, Julian, Ph. D., Rabbi, President Hebrew Union College, 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, O.
Moses, Alfred Geiger, Rabbi, Congregation Shaarai Shomayim, Government and Warren Sts., Mobile, Ala.

Nathan, David S., A. B., Rabbi, 3467 Brookline Ave., Cincinnati, O.
Nathan, Marvin, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 3417 Ridge Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Newfield, Morris, A. B., Litt. D., Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El, 2100 Highland Ave., Birmingham, Ala.
Newman, Louis I., M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El, 125 Jordan Ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Nieto, Jacob, Rabbi, Congregation Sherith Israel, 3933 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal.

Ogel, Jacob J., M. A., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, Lincoln, Nebraska.
Olan, Levi A., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, 111 Elm St., Worcester, Mass.

Parker, Benjamin M., Rabbi, 2949 Middleton Rd., New York, N. Y.
Peiser, Walter Gilbert, A. B., Rabbi, B'nai Israel, 2222 Tulip St., Baton Rouge, La.
Philipson, David, D. D., LL. D., D. H. L., Rabbi, Congregation Bene Israel, 270 McGregor Ave., Cincinnati, O.
Phillips, Samuel T., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Agudas Achim, 112 E. Quincy St., San Antonio, Tex.
Philo, Isador E., Rabbi, Congregation Rodef Sholom, Elm and Woodbine Sts., Youngstown, O.
Pollak, Jacob B., M. A., Rabbi, Asst. Director, Synagog and School Extension Dept., 11 W. 42nd St., New York City.

Rabinowitz, Samuel A., M. A., Rabbi, Hebrew Union Congregation, 502 Main St., Greenville, Miss.
Raisin, Jacob S., Ph. D., D. D., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Elohim, 207 Broad St., Charleston, S. C.

Raisin, Max, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, 270 E. 30th St., Paterson, N. J.

Ranson, Marius, A. B., Rabbi, American Synagog, New York City.

Rappaport, Julius, Rabbi, Congregation Beth Hillel, 516 60th St., Kenosha, Wis.

Rasinger, Robert S., Rabbi, Beaumont, Texas.

Rauch, Joseph, Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Adath Israel, 834 S. 3rd Ave., Louisville, Ky.

Regner, Sidney L., A. B., Rabbi, Reform Congregation Oheb Sholom, Perkiomen Ave. and 13th St., Reading, Pa.

Reich, Leo, M. D., 8904 Buckeye Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

Reichel, Leo M., Rabbi, 3901 Seagate Ave., Sea Gate, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Reichert, Irving F., A. B., Rabbi, Tremont Temple, 1950 Andrews Ave., New York City.

Reichert, Victor E., A. B., B. Litt., Rabbi, Congregation Bene Israel, Rockdale Ave. Temple, Cincinnati, O.

Reichler, Max, A. B., Rabbi, Beth Sholom-Peoples' Temple, 84 Bay 25th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Reinhart, Harold Frederic, Rabbi, West London Synagog, 34 Upper Berkeley St., W. 1, London, England.

Rhine, Abraham B., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation House of Israel, 315 W. Grand Ave., Hot Springs National Park, Ark.

Richmond, Harry R., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, Paducah, Ky.

Rosen, Jerome, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Gates of Heaven, 24 Hampton Ave., Schenectady, N. Y.

Rosenau, William, Ph. D., D. H. L., Rabbi, Congregation Oheb Shalom, Esplanade Apts., Baltimore, Md.

Rosenbaum, David, M. A., Ph. B., Rabbi, Temple Judea, 1227 Independence Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Rosenberg, Adolph, Rabbi, Congregation Beth Zion, P. O. Box 286, Bradford, Pa.

Rosenblum, William F., A. B., LL. B., Rabbi, Washington Hebrew Congregation, Washington, D. C.

Rosenzweig, Efraim M., A. B., Rabbi, 805 Mitchell Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Rosenthal, Frank L., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Israel, Box 354, Columbus, Ga.

Rosenthal, Isidore, A. B., Rabbi, 118 N. Prince St., Lancaster, Pa.

Rosenwasser, Herman, A. B., Rabbi, 166 Palm Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

Rothman, Walter E., Ph. D., Rabbi, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Rothstein, Leonard J., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Elohim, Park Central Hotel, 7th Ave. and 56th St., New York City.

Rubenstein, Charles A., M. A., Rabbi, Baltimore, Md.

Rudin, Jacob Philip, B. A., Rabbi, Free Synagog, 40 W. 68th St., New York City.

Rypins, Frederick I., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, 3 Virginia Ave., S. R., Roanoke, Va.

Rypins, Isaac L., B. L., Rabbi, United Hebrew Congregation, 424 N. Sergeant Ave., Joplin, Mo.

Sale, Samuel, Rabbi Emeritus, Congregation Shaare Emeth, 5115 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo.

Salzman, Marcus, A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai B'rith, 94 W. Ross St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Sanders, Ira E., M. A., Rabbi, B'nai Israel, 421 Broadway, Little Rock, Ark.

Sarasohn, Israel Joshua, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, P. O. Box 125, Leavenworth, Kan.

Schanfarber, Tobias, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Anshe Mayriv, 5042 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Schenk, Max, A. B., Rabbi.

Schorr, Henry A., A. B., Rabbi, Unity Synagog, 130 W. 79th St., New York City.

Schreiber, Emanuel, Rabbi, 520 S. Mariposa St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Schulman, Samuel, A. B., D. D., D. H. L., Rabbi, Congregation Emanu-El, 27 W. 72nd St., New York City.

Schwartz, Samuel, A. B., T. M., Rabbi, Washington Blvd. Temple, 23 N. Karlov Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Schwartz, William B., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel of Far Rockaway, 870 Woodmere Pl., Woodmere, L. I.

Schwarz, Jacob D., A. B., Rabbi, Assistant Secretary, U. A. H. C., 1579 Dixmont Ave., Cincinnati, O.

Segel, Alexander D., M. A., Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, Box 170, York, Pa.

Segel, Louis J., Temple Sinai, Marion, Ind.

Shillman, Samuel R., A. B., Rabbi, Mizpah Congregation, 406 Belvoir Rd., Chattanooga, Tenn.

Shinedling, Abraham I., Rabbi, 744 E. 18th St., Paterson, N. J.

Shulman, Charles E., Rabbi, Cobb St. Temple, Box 238, Wheeling, W. Va.

Silber, Mendel, Rabbi, Congregation Gates of Prayer, 4735 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

Silberfeld, Julius, Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Abraham, 32 Ingraham Place, Newark, N. J.
Silver, Abba Hillel, D. D., Litt. D., Rabbi, The Temple, E. 105th St., Cleveland, O.
Silverman, Joseph, D. D., D. H. L., Rabbi Emeritus, Temple Emanu-El, 55 E. 86th St., New York City.
Simon, Abram, Ph. D., D. H. L., Rabbi, Washington Hebrew Congregation, 3722 Harrison St., Washington, D. C.
Singer, Jacob, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Mizpah, 1615 Morse Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Skirball, Jack H., A. B., Rabbi, Washington Ave. Temple, J57 Donalson Arms, Evansville, Ind.
Slonimsky, Henry, Ph. D., Professor, Institute of Religion, 40 W. 68th St., New York City.
Snyder Herman Eliot, A. B., Rabbi, B'rith Sholom Congregation, 2115 S. 4th St., Springfield, Ill.
Solomon, George, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Mickve Israel, 20 E. Gordon St., Savannah, Ga.
Spiegel, Adolph, Ph. D., Rabbi, 280 Westwood Ave., Long Branch, N. J.
Starrels, Solomon Elihu, A. B., Rabbi, Liberal Jewish Synagog, 28 St. Johns Wood Rd., London, N. W. 3, England.
Stein, Salo, Rabbi, 505 W. 124th St., New York City.
Steinbach, Alexander Alan., Rabbi, Temple Beth El, 621 Princess Anne Rd., Norfolk Va.
Stern, Harry Joshua, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El, 4128 Sherbrook St. W., Montreal, Canada.
Stern, Nathan, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, West End Synagog, Hotel Lucerne, 201 W. 79th St., New York City.
Stern, Richard M., Rabbi.
Stern, Wm. M., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth-El, Box 754, South Bend, Ind.
Stolz, Joseph, B. L., D. D., Rabbi, Isaiah-Israel Temple, 5010 Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Stolz, Joseph Henry, M. A., Ph. B., Rabbi, 5469 Everett Ave, Chicago, Ill.

Tarshish, Jacob, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 925 Bryden Rd., Columbus, O.
Tavel, Henry, 911 Washington St., Wilmington, Delaware.
Taxay, Joseph Marshall, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 540 S. 6th St., Terre Haute, Ind.
Tedesche, Sidney Saul, A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Union Temple of Brooklyn, Copley Plaza at Brooklyn, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Teitelbaum, Samuel, A. B., Rabbi, 5667 Enright Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Thorner, Maurice, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth-El, 2600 Boulevard, Jersey City, N. J.
Thurman, Samuel, A. B., Rabbi, United Hebrew Temple, 420 Melville Ave., University City, St. Louis, Mo.
Tintner, Benjamin A., M. A., Rabbi, Unity Synagog, 305 West End Ave., New York City.
Turner, Jacob, A. B., Rabbi, 4167 Ogden Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Unger, Sidney E., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Rodeph Shalom, 615 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Ungerleider, M., Rabbi, Congregation Moses Montefiore, 2600 N. Kedzie Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Urich, Morris J., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Bikur Cholim, 417 S. 8th St., San Jose, Cal.
Utschen, Joseph, M. A , Rabbi, Congregation Children of Israel, Box 568, Athens, Ga.

Warsaw, Isadore, A. B., Rabbi, 46 W. 95th St., New York City.
Waterman, Philip F., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Emanuel, 617 Rosewood Ave., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Weinstein, Aaron Lewis, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Israel, Hotel Whitman, Jamaica, L. I., New York.
Weinstein, Jacob J., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, 1908 Speedway, Austin, Texas.
Weis, J. Max, A. B., Rabbi, 50 E. 58th St., New York City.
Weiss, Harry, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Shaarei Zadek, 3 Virginia Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Wessel, Harvey E., M. A., Rabbi, Congregation Emanuel, 1721 E. 3rd St., Duluth, Minn.
Wise, Jonah B., A. B., Rabbi, Central Synagog, 35 E. 62nd St., New York City.
Wise, Stephen S., Rabbi, Free Synagog, 40 W. 68th St., New York City.
Witt, Louis, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Yeshurun, 1528 N. Euclid, Dayton, Ohio.
Wohl, Samuel, A. B., Rabbi, Reading Road Temple, 3212 Reading Road, Cincinnati, O.
Wolfenson, Louis B., M. A., Ph. D., 37 University Place, Brookline, Mass.
Wolk, Samuel, M. A., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai B'rith, 47 River St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Wolsey, Louis, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Rodeph Shalom, 615 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Yudelson, Albert B., 6153 South Park Ave., Chicago Ill.

Zepin, George, A. B., Rabbi, Secretary, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Merchants' Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Zielonka, David L., A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth El, Hotel Navarro, Corsicana, Texas.
Zielonka, Martin, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Mt. Sinai, P. O. Box 1367, El Paso, Tex.
Zieger, Bernard, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Beth-El, Flint, Mich.
Zigmond, Maurice, A. B., Rabbi.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS BY STATE AND CITY

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
ALABAMA		
Birmingham	Emanu-El	Morris Newfield
Mobile	Shaarai Shomayim	Alfred G. Moses
Selma	Mishkan Israel	Jerome Mark
ARIZONA		
Tucson	Emanuel	Abraham Freed
ARKANSAS		
Helena	Beth El	Joseph Leiser
Hot Springs	House of Israel	A. B. Rhine
Little Rock	B'nai Israel	Ira E. Sanders
CALIFORNIA		
Berkeley	Hillel Foundation	Max B. Merritt
Hollywood	Israel	Isador Isaacson
Long Beach	Israel	Harvey B. Franklin
Los Angeles	B'nai B'rith	Julius Leibert
		Edgar F. Magnin
		Sigmund Frey
		Emanuel Schreiber
Oakland	Sinai	Rudolph I. Coffee
Pasadena	B'nai Israel	Joseph Jasin
Sacramento	B'nai Israel	Norman M. Goldburg
San Diego	Beth Israel	Jacob K. Levin
San Francisco	Shalom	Michael Fried
	Emanu-El	Mellborne Harris
	Emanu El	Louis I. Newman
	Sherith Israel	Jacob Nieto
		Herman Rosenwasser
San Jose	Bickur Cholim	Morris J. Urich
		Montague N. A. Cohen
COLORADO		
Denver	Emanuel	Wm. S. Friedman
Pueblo	Emanuel	Moise Bergman

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
Connecticut		
Bridgeport		David Levy
	B'nai Israel	Albert L. Martin
Hartford	Beth Israel	Abraham J. Feldman
New Haven	Mishkan Israel	Pizer W. Jacobs
Stanford	Beth-El	Maurice M. Mazure
Delaware		
Wilmington		Henry Tavel
District of Columbia		
Washington	Washington Hebrew	Abram Simon
	Washington Hebrew	Wm. F. Rosenblum
Florida		
Jacksonville	Ahavath Chesed	Israel L. Kaplan
Miami	Israel	Jacob H. Kaplan
Pensacola	Beth El	Martin Friedman
Tampa	Schaarai Zedek	L. Elliot Grafman
Georgia		
Albany	B'nai Israel	Edmund A. Landau
Athens	Children of Israel	Joseph Utschen
Atlanta	Hebrew Benevolent	David Marx
Augusta	Israel	Nathan E. Barasch
Columbus	B'nai Israel	Frank L. Rosenthal
Macon	Beth Israel	Isaac E. Marcuson
Savannah	Mickve Israel	George Solomon
Illinois		
Chicago	Am Ehod	David Bronstein
		Bernard C. Ehrenrich
	South Shore	George Gresham Fox
	Kehillath Anshe Maarov	Solomon B. Freehof
		N. Leon Friedless
	Sholom	Abram Hirschberg
	Isaiah Israel	Gerson B. Levi
	Emanuel	Felix A. Levy
	Beth El	Mayer Lippman
	Chicago Sinai	Louis L. Mann
	Beth Israel	Samuel F. Mendelsohn
		Julius H. Meyer
	Judea	David M. Rosenbaum
	Wash. Blvd. Temple	Samuel Schwartz

ILLINOIS—*Continued*

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
	Anshe Mayriv	Tobias Schanfarber
	Mizpah	Jacob Singer
	Isaiah Israel	Joseph Stolz
		Joseph Henry Stolz
		Jacob Turner
	Moses Montefiore	M. Ungerleider
		Albert B. Yudelson
Glencoe	North Shore	Louis J. Kopald
Peoria	Anshe Emeth	Bernard M. Dorfman
Springfield	B'rith Sholom	Herman E. Snyder

INDIANA

Evansville	Washington Ave. Tem.	Jack H. Skirball
Ft. Wayne	Achduth Vesholom	S. H. Markowitz
Gary	Israel	Garry J. August
Hammond	Beth El	Louis B. Kuppin
Indianapolis	Indianapolis Hebrew	Morris M. Feuerlicht
		Mayer Messing
Lafayette	Israel	Jacob B. Krohngold
Marion	Sinai	Louis J. Segal
South Bend	Beth El	William M. Stern
Terre Haute	Israel	Joseph M. Taxay

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	Judah	Max Schenk
Davenport	Emanuel	Samuel D. Hurwitz
Des Moines	B'nai Jeshurun	Eugene Mannheimer
Sioux City	Mt. Sinai	Theodore Lewis

KANSAS

Leavenworth	B'nai Jeshurun	Israel J. Sarasohn
Topeka	Beth Sholom	Irving M. Levy

KENTUCKY

Lexington	Adath Israel	Lawrence E. B. Kahn
Louisville	B'rith Sholom	Solomon N. Bazell
	Adath Israel	Joseph Rauch
Paducah	Israel	Harry R. Richmond

Louisiana

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
Baton Rouge	B'nai Israel	Walter G. Peiser
Monroe		Israel L. Heinberg
New Orleans		David Fichman
	Sinai	Louis Binstock
	Touro Synagog	Emil Wm. Leipziger
	Gates of Prayer	Mendel Silber
Shreveport	B'nai Zion	Abram Brill

Maryland

Baltimore	Baltimore Hebrew	Morris S. Lazaron
	Oheb Shalom	William Rosenau
	Har Sinai Temple	Edward L. Israel
		Chas. A. Rubenstein
Cumberland	B'er Chayim	Beryl D. Cohon

Massachusetts

Boston	Ohabei Shalom	Samuel J. Abrams
	Israel	Harry Levi
		Louis B. Wolfenson
Brockton	Israel	David Goldberg
Lynn	Beth El	Israel Harburg
Pittsfield	Anshe Amonine	Harry Kaplan
Swampscott		Raphael Goldenstein
Worcester	Emanuel	Levi Olan

Michigan

Detroit	Beth-El	Leon Fram
	Beth-El	Leo M. Franklin
Flint	Beth-El	Bernard Zeiger
Grand Rapids	Emanuel	Philip F. Waterman

Minnesota

Duluth	Emanuel	Harvey E. Wessel
Minneapolis	Israel	Albert G. Minda
St. Paul	Mt. Zion Hebrew	Harry S. Margolis

Mississippi

Cleveland	Adath Israel	Jacob Halevi
Greenville	Hebrew Union	Samuel A. Rabinowitz
Jackson	Beth Israel	Meyer Lovitt
Meridian	Beth Israel	William Ackerman
Natchez	B'nai Israel	Louis Brav
Vicksburg	Anshe Chesed	Sol L. Kory

MISSOURI

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
Joplin	United Hebrew	Isaac L. Rypins
Kansas City	B'nai Jehuda	Harry H. Mayer
	B'nai Jehuda	Samuel S. Mayerberg
St. Joseph	Adath Joseph	Myron M. Meyer
St. Louis	Israel	Ferdinand M. Isserman
	Shaare Emeth	Samuel Sale
	Shaare Emeth	Julius Gordon
	B'nai El	Julian H. Miller
	United Hebrew	Samuel Thurman

NEBRASKA

Lincoln	B'nai Yeshurun	Jacob J. Ogel
Omaha	Israel	Frederick Cohn

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	Beth Israel	Henry M. Fisher
New Brunswick	Anshe Emeth	Maurice Hirshberg
Jersey City	Beth-El	Maurice Thorner
Long Branch	Beth Miriam	Barnett A. Elzas
		Adolph Spiegel
Newark	B'nai Jeshurun	Solomon Foster
	B'nai Jeshurun	Joseph Freedman
	B'nai Abraham	Julius Silberfeld
Paterson	B'nai Jeshurun	Max Raisin
		Abraham L. Shinedling
Trenton	Har Sinai	Abraham Holtzberg

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	Albert	Herbert I. Bloom

NEW YORK

Albany	Beth Emeth	Bernard Bamberger
Astoria	Center of Israel	Joshua L. Goldberg
Brooklyn		Leo M. Reichel
	Beth Sholom—Peoples	Max Reichler
	Union Temple	Sidney Saul Tedesche
	Shaarei Zedek	Harry Weiss
	Beth Elohim	Alexander Lyons
	Beth Emeth of Flatbush	Samuel J. Levinson

New York—*Continued*

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
	Union Temple of Brooklyn	Louis D. Gross
	Union Temple	Simon R. Cohen
	B'nai Sholom	Marcus Friedlander
Buffalo	Temple Beth Zion	Joseph L. Fink
Flushing	Free Synagog	Max Meyer
Great Neck, L. I.	Israel	David Goodis
Jamaica	Temple Israel	Aaron Lewis Weinstein
Lynbrook	Emanu-El	George Benedict
Mt. Vernon		Joseph I. Gorfinkle
	Sinai Temple	Solomon A. Fineberg
Newburgh	Beth Jacob	Maurice J. Bloom
New York City	N. Y. Public Library	Joshua Bloch
	Hebrew Tabernacle	Mortimer I. Bloom
	Free Synagog	Morton M. Berman
		Simon Cohen
		David Davidson
	Emanu El	Hyman G. Enelow
	Israel	Abraham J. Feinberg
	Rodef Shalom	Mitchell S. Fischer
	Free Synagog	Sidney E. Goldstein
		Wm. Henry Greenberg
	Israel of City of N.Y.	Maurice H. Harris
	Community Synagog	Gustav N. Hausmann
	Anshei Geulah	Benjamin Hoffseyer
		Theodore F. Joseph
		Bernard M. Kaplan
		George A. Kohut
	Emanu El	Nathan Krass
		Harry L. Kronman
		Isaac Landman
	Center of Jewish Science	Clifton H. Levy
	Manhattan City Prisons	Harry S. Lewis
	Jewish Science Movement	Morris Lichtenstein
	Jewish Social Research Bureau	Harry S. Linfield
	Riverside Synagog	Edward Lissman
	Jewish Charities	Solomon C. Lowenstein

NEW YORK—*Continued*

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
	U. A. H. C.	Jacob B. Pollak
		Benjamin M. Parker
	American Synagog	Marius Ranson
	Tremont Temple	Irving F. Reichert
	Beth Elohim	Leonard J. Rothstein
	Free Synagog	Jacob P. Rudin
	Unity	Henry A. Schorr
	Emanu-El	Samuel Schulman
	Emanu-El	Joseph Silverman
	Institute of Religion	Henry Slonimsky
	West End Synagog	Nathan Stern
	Unity	Benjamin Tintner
		Salo Stein
		Isador Warsaw
		J. Max Weis
	Central Synagog	Jonah B. Wise
	Free Synagog	Stephen S. Wise
New Rochelle	Israel	Alvin S. Luchs
Rochester	B'rith Kodesh	Philip S. Bernstein
Schenectady	Gates of Heaven	Jerome Rosen
Syracuse	Society of Concord	Benjamin Friedman
Woodmere	Israel	Eugene Blachschleger

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville	Beth Ha-Tephillah	Moses P. Jacobson
Goldsboro	Oheb Sholom	Iser Freund
Greensboro	Emanuel	Milton Ellis
Raleigh	Beth Or	Carl N. Herman
Wilmington	Israel	Benjamin Kelson

OHIO

Akron	Akron Hebrew	David Alexander
Canton	Canton Hebrew	Chas. B. Latz
Cincinnati	Plum St. Temple	James G. Heller
		Chas. S. Levi
		David S. Nathan
	Bene Israel	David Philipson
	Bene Israel	Victor E. Reichert
		Ephraim M. Rosenzweig
	Reading Road	Samuel Wohl

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
	Hebrew Union College	Julian Morgenstern
		Israel Bettan
		Sheldon Blank
		Moses Buttenweiser
		Samuel S. Cohon
		Abraham Cronbach
		Henry Englander
		Sol B. Finesinger
		Nelson Glueck
		Abraham Zevi Idelsohn
		Jacob Z. Lauterbach
		Jacob Mann
		Jacob R. Marcus
	Union of American Hebrew Congregations	George Zepin
		Michael Aaronsohn
		Louis I. Egelson
		Gustav F. Falk
		Julius B. Maller
		Jacob D. Schwarz
Cleveland	Euclid Ave. Temple	Barnet R. Brickner
	The Temple	Leon I. Feuer
	Regional Rabbi	Philip W. Jaffa
	West Side B'nai Israel	Jacob Klein
		Leo M. Reich
	The Temple	Abba Hillel Silver
Columbus	B'nai Brith Hillel	Lee J. Levinger
	Israel	Jacob Tarshish
Dayton		Samuel J. Harris
	B'nai Jeshurun	Louis Witt
Steubenville	Beth El	Howard L. Fineberg
Toledo	Shomer Emunim	Joseph S. Kornfeld
		Chas. J. Freund
Youngstown	Rodef Sholom	Isador E. Philo
Zanesville		Israel Klein
	OKLAHOMA	
Oklahoma City	B'nai Israel	Joseph Blatt
Tulsa	Israel	Hyman A. Iola
	OREGON	
Portland	Beth Israel	Henry J. Berkowitz

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
	PENNSYLVANIA	
Allentown	Keneseth Israel	Harry Caplan
Altoona	Beth Israel	Eugene E. Hibshman
Bradford	Beth Zion	Adolph Rosenberg
Erie	Anshe Chesed	Max C. Currick
Harrisburg	Ohev Sholom	Philip D. Bookstaber
Johnstown	Beth Zion	Henry E. Kagan
Lancaster	Shaarai Shomayim	Daniel L. Davis
		Isidore Rosenthal
New Castle	Israel	J. B. Menkes
Philadelphia	Rodeph Shalom	Louis Wolsey
	Rodeph Shalom	Sidney E. Unger
	Keneseth Israel	Wm. H. Fineshriber
	Keneseth Israel	Julian B. Feibelman
	Beth Israel	Marvin Nathan
Pittsburgh	Rodef Shalom	Samuel S. Goldenson
	Rodef Shalom	B. Benedict Glazer
Reading	Oheb Sholom	Sidney L. Regner
	Kesher Israel	Louis J. Haas
Scranton	Madison Ave. Temple	Bernard Heller
Sunbury	Beth El	Julius Kerman
Uniontown	Israel	Samuel H. Baron
Wilkes-Barre	B'nai B'rith	Marcus Salzman
	B'nai B'rith	Samuel Wolk
York	Beth Israel	Alexander D. Segel
	RHODE ISLAND	
Newport	Beth Israel	Alter Abelson
Providence	Beth El	Samuel M. Gup
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
Charleston	Beth Elohim	Jacob S. Raisin
Sumter	Sinai	Hirsch L. Freund
	TENNESSEE	
Chattanooga	Mizpah Congregation	Samuel Shillman
Memphis	Children of Israel	Harry W. Ettelson
Nashville	Vine St. Temple	Julius Mark
Knoxville	Beth El	Milton Greenwald
	TEXAS	
Austin	Beth Israel	Jacob J. Weinstein
Beaumont		Robert S. Rasinger
Corsicana	Beth El	David L. Zielonka
Dallas	Emanu-El	David Lefkowitz
El Paso	Mt. Sinai	Martin Zielonka
Ft. Worth	Beth El	Harry A. Merfeld

Texas—*Continued*

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
Galveston	B'nai Israel	Henry Cohen
Houston	Beth Israel	Henry Barnston
San Antonio	Beth El	Ephraim Frisch
		Samuel Marks
	Agudas Achim	Samuel T. Phillips
Texarkana	Mt. Sinai	Arthur S. Montaz
Tyler	Beth El	Maurice Faber
Waco	Rodef Sholom	Wolfe Macht

Utah

Salt Lake City	B'nai Israel	Samuel H. Gordon

Virginia

Norfolk	Oheb Sholom	Louis D. Mendoza
	Beth El	Alexander A. Steinbach
Richmond	Beth Ahabah	Edward N. Calisch
	Beth Ahabah	Eugene Blachschleger
Roanoke	Israel	Frederick I. Rypins

Washington

Seattle	Temple de Hirsch	Samuel Koch

West Virginia

Charleston	B'nai Israel	A. L. Goldburg
Huntington	Ohev Sholom	Abraham Feinstein
Wheeling	Cobb St. Temple	Charles E. Shulman

Wisconsin

Kenosha	Beth Hillel	Julius Rappaport
Madison	Hillel Foundation	Solomon Landman
Milwaukee	Emanu-El	Joseph L. Baron
	B'ne Jeshurun	Samuel Hirschberg

Canada

Hamilton, Ont.	Anshe Sholom	Arthur A. Feldman
Montreal	Emanu-El	Harry J. Stern
Toronto	Holy Blossom	Maurice N. Eisendrath

ENGLAND

City	*Congregation*	*Rabbi*
Liverpool	Liberal Jewish	Morris Goldstein
London		Israel I. Mattuck
	Liberal Jewish	Claude G. Montefiore
	Liberal Jewish	Elihu Starrels
West London		Harold F. Reinhart

PALESTINE

Jerusalem		Judah L. Magnes
		Walter Rothman

CUBA

Havana	United Hebrew	Victor Eppstein

ADDRESS UNKNOWN

Frederick Braun
Louis Brav
Max Kaufman
Richard Stern

CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS

Union Prayer Book, Volumes I and II. (Revised).
Union Haggadah for Passover Eve. (Revised).
Union Hymnal.
Judaism—A Manual for the Instruction of Proselytes.
Prayers for Private Devotion.
Blessing and Praise—A Book of Meditation and Prayers.
Sermons by American Rabbis.
Yearbook, Volumes I-XXXIX.
Index of Yearbook, Vols. I-XXV, XXVI-XXX, XXXI-XXXV.
Rabbis' Manual.
Why the Bible Should Not Be Read in the Public Schools.

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